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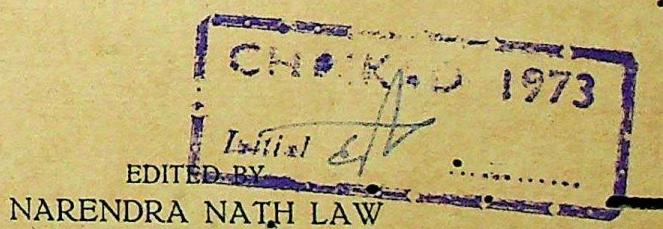
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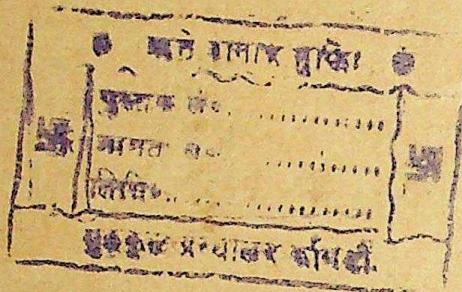
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No. 2

Northern Buddhism

II

Before I give a connected history of Northern Buddhism it is necessary to speak something about the Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal on which that is to be based. The mss. brought by Hodgson were thus distributed : "85 bundles comprising 144 separate works were presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; 85 to the Royal Asiatic Society of London ; 30 to the India Office Library ; 7 to the Bodleian Library, Oxford ; 174 to the Société Asiatique and M. Burnouf. The last two collections have since been deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale of France".

Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra says that Hodgson was not only the discoverer of these most ancient and authentic records, but also the first intelligent exponent of their nature and value both in their ritualistic and in their philosophical aspects, "and his notices served more to excite than to allay curiosity in regard to them". Very few of them, almost a negligible quantity, are non-Buddhistic. Prof. Bendall's Catalogue of the Wright collection in Cambridge contains about 172 separate works. My collection in the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains 125 separate Buddhist works. In all, there would be about 700 mss. There are about 250 Buddhist works available to

work upon, making allowance for all duplicates, triplicates and multiplicates of works and fragments.

The most important and earliest of them is the *Mahāvastu-avādāna*, the Vinaya or disciplinary work of the Mahāsaṅghikas, the schismatics of the second Buddhist council in the second century of the Nirvāṇa era or in the fourth century B. C. This is the only work of the Mahāsaṅghikas that has come down to us or has yet been discovered. Its importance cannot therefore be overrated. M. Senart has published an edition of the work with notes in French. The amazing piece of information given at the outset is that the Mahāsaṅghikas were all Lokottaravādins that, is they considered Buddha to be supermundane. Reading through the book, I find that everything in the life of Buddha is supermundane. His descent from heaven, his entrance into the womb of Māyā, his birth from her right side, his seven steps at birth, his movements, his eating, lying, sitting were all supermundane. He received no education, yet when challenged, he wrestled, he threw arrows, he fought, he jumped, with supermundane power and throughout the book the author or the compiler has maintained the supermundane character of Buddha. The opponents consider Buddha as a gifted human being but the schismatics thought he was not earthly.

Every one who reads the Pāli works knows that the schism arose from a difference on ten points, all minor points of discipline, and he wonders how such trivial things can produce such an abiding separation. The supermundane character given to Buddha by the schismatics invests the separation with greater importance. The difference of opinion was radical and far-reaching as the subsequent developments will show. Later on Buddha loses his human character altogether and becomes *Upāya*, means of salvation, and later still, there arise many hypothetical Buddhas or Dhyāni Buddhas identified with the universe both in its physical and spiritual aspects. The southern Buddhists are concerned with

Sākyamuni, the Sarvārthasiddha, the son of Śuddhodana and Māyā, belonging to the solar race and to the Gotama-gotra ; but the Northern Buddhists speak of him as Sarvajña, omniscient. The lexicographer Amarasiṁha in the fifth century A. D. speaks of two Buddhas, one Supreme Intelligence, and the other a human being. The Supreme Intelligence is placed first and has more names than the other. In the supplement to the *Amarakoṣa* written in the latest period of Buddhism in India, the supermundane Buddha has many more names than the human Buddha.

This is one aspect of N. Buddhism ; the other aspects are also patent at the first reading of the *Mahāvastu*, which speaks of hundreds of Buddhas previous to this Buddha. The S. Buddhism knows only three, then eight, and last of all, 24, not to be behind the Jainas who have 24 Tīrthaṅkaras including Mahāvīra, a contemporary of Sākyamuni. The S. Buddhism has 550 Jātaka stories. But the Northern has only a few and those few gradually dwindled into nothing. The Jātakas were substituted by Avadānas or glorious achievements not only of Buddha but of all great personages of the Buddhist faith. The Northern seems to have an aversion to the Jātakas.

In the matter of doctrine, too, there was a great difference between the two sections. The highest aim of the Southern was arahatship to be free from the bondage of birth, death and old age. The arahats cannot save others. They, however, can save themselves. It is Buddha only who can save others. The arahats can, however, prepare others for salvation but the latter will have to wait till a Buddha appears in the world after an uncertain and indefinitely long period. But the *Mahāvastu* preaches that any one who has attained salvation can save others "tiṇo tarayeyam, mukto mocayeyam". The ideas of time and space of the N. and S. Buddhists are very different. The Southern is more circumscribed while the Northern attempts to grasp infinity as far as human limitation will allow. The S. deals with the life of Sākyamuni only, but the N. with many of the past Buddhas who foretold that

Sākyamuni would attain Buddhahood at Kapilavāstu and in one place the N. have gone so far as to speak of hundreds of Sākyamunis of Kapilavāstu. No emphasis is laid on the Śikṣā-
padas or disciplinary vows in the N. but these are not altogether suppressed as in later times. But the S. is full of these vows even now. So the difference was not on 10 minor points of discipline but on fundamental conceptions and what are these ten points ? To us they appear to be absolutely trivial. Some monks wanted to store a bit of salt in a horn and objection was taken to such storage. The monks were allowed to take only liquids in the afternoon. Some people wanted to mix water with curd and drink it before churning. That was objected to and so on to the number of ten. This appears to be more trivial when it is considered that Buddha on his deathbed advised monks to attach smaller importance to minor points of discipline after his death.

The Licchavis of Vaiśālī and their relations the Vajjis were a spirited race who had recently given up their nomadic habits and were impatient of control. They wanted to widen the outlook of Buddhism and they succeeded.

When I am speaking of the earliest work of the schism, the *Mahāvastu*, I cannot leave it without saying a word about its chronology and its language. The prevailing opinion is that it is written in a mixed language into which Sanskrit and Prākṛt idioms equally enter and that it is an artificial language. But I think this was the spoken language of N. India which purged " by the rules of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali became the standard language of the brāhmaṇas of N. India. The *Bharata Nātya Śāstra* distinctly says that when that work was written about the second century b. c., there were in India seven languages, and that each had two forms the Samskrta and the Prākṛta, i.e., pure or grammatical and the ordinary, and the seven languages were all geographical. The *Mahāvastu* is written in the ungrammatical form of the language prevailing in Kośala and Vajji countries. It is neither an artificial language nor Vernacularized Sanskrit nor Sanskrit-

ised Vernacular. The work is written in prose but every prose piece is supported by a versified piece which looks like the authority on which the prose narration is based. There is a slight variation in their language, as there must be, between prose and verse. The prose is homely and the verse is a little dignified. There are other books also written in this language. The *Lalitavistara*, I suppose, was at one time written entirely in this language but at present the prose has become Sanskrit of a sort and the poetry has retained the old language. The *Saddharma Pundarika*, as we have it, is written in the style of prose in Sanskrit and poetry in this identical language. But the palm-leaves that have been dug out from the Taklamakan desert contain an old version of the work in which both the prose and the verse are in this language. There is another work of which I have recently got a copy which is all in verse in this language but which appears to be more modern. The short dedicatory inscriptions in Sāñcī, Barhaut, Mathura and other places are also in this language. It seems to have been the prevailing language of the N. Buddhists in the centuries following the schism.

So far for the language of the *Mahāvastu*; and the time for its composition or compilation is, I think, the second and third centuries of the Nirvāṇa era, namely, the third and second centuries B. C. Some scholars think that it was composed or compiled in the 3rd century A. D. because it contains the word *Yogācāra* and the *Yogācāra* sect was founded in that century. The word *Yogācāra* in the *Mahāvastu* is not used in the sense of a sect; there it has the ordinary meaning of *Yoga* and *ācāra* and it is not in the nature of things that the vigorous sect which defied the majority of the elders should wait six centuries to write their sacred books. I think the work was written or the works were compiled in the course of the very first or second century of its existence. There would be no meaning in their composition or compilation six hundred years after, when it is well-

known again that the Mahāsaṅghikas within one, or one and half a century was split up into six different sects.

So the *Mahāvastu* is a great discovery as the earliest work of N. Buddhism and as being written in the vernacular of the time when Sanskrit grammarians were trying to purify the language by strict rules, Pāṇini in the late fifth, Kātyāyana in the fourth, Vyādi in the third and Patañjali in the second century b. c.

The third century of the Nirvāṇa era and the early part of the fourth were the most flourishing time of Buddhism. Aśoka encouraged Buddhism and some of his successors did the same. Big monasteries were founded, the places of pilgrimage visited, grants were made to Buddhist congregations, missions were sent to surrounding countries and assemblies held to fix the canons. But all that was good for S. Buddhism of one sect only. The strict rules framed for schismatics does not speak of great favour being shown to the people of N. Buddhism. But one thing is sure : Asoka was not in favour of persecution except when his Imperialist policy required that class privileges should be cut down.

A book, non-canonical, of course, was written by the President of the Aśoka Council held in the 17th year of his reign, detailing the points in controversy among the Buddhists from the point of view of the most favoured sect, namely, the Vibhajjavādins, an offshoot of the Theravādins. That book enunciates 20 different sects among the Buddhists, 12 among the Theravadins, 6 among the Mahāsaṅghikas and two local. But it is a well-known fact that in the council of the 17th year of Aśoka the N. Buddhists were not invited and they consequently took no part and ignored its existence. But their opinions were controverted by the President Tissa Moggaliputta in their absence in the now famous work, the *Kathāvātthu* or the points of controversy. So between the Vaiśālī split and the Aśoka council there were further and further splits among the Buddhists.

In the middle of the fourth century of the Nirvāṇa era

disaster fell on all Buddhists. Aśoka prohibited the killing of animals for sacrificial purposes all over his empire, took away the cherished privileges of brāhmaṇas to suit his Imperial policy, appointed the best men in his services irrespective of caste, colour and creed. This gave offence to the brāhmaṇas, and they in the middle of the fourth century of the Nirvāṇa era destroyed the Maurya Empire and raised a Sāmavedi brāhmaṇa of the Śunga gotra to the throne of Magadha. The Sāmavedins were the priests of the Soma sacrifice in which many animals were killed and these were incensed at the prohibition of killing animals and they now took their vengeance by performing a Horse sacrifice in the very capital, perhaps in the very palace of Aśoka from which the edict of prohibition was promulgated. This was not all. Puṣyamitra the first king of the Śunga dynasty was a great persecutor of the Buddhists, he massacred the monks, destroyed their vihāras, and banished the turbulent spirits. The Buddhists fled to all parts of India, the Theravādins towards the South and the N. Buddhists towards the N. West. The brāhmaṇas remained dominant in eastern and central India for three centuries and consolidated their power within the empire. They codified their law, they gave the last finish to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and to their linguistic survey and organised the caste-system and the modern system of Hindu worship. But beyond the empire their influence was on the wane, and their empire dwindled and dwindled till the whole fabric fell before the invading hoards from the North, West, and South. Beyond the brāhmaṇa empire the Buddhists had peace and shelter but after nearly two centuries of disorganisation. They, however, kept up the form of a spiritual government. Saṅghatheras were appointed in regular succession and the show of a government was kept up. The *Milinda Pañha* a dialogue between king Menander and Nāgasena shows that beyond the brāhmaṇa empire among the foreign invaders the Buddhists enjoyed more respect than in their home provinces.

Now to what sect did Nāgasena belong ? The book as now extant is in Pāli and found in the South. But the editor tells us that the work had a Sanskrit original and that it most probably belonged to N. Buddhism.

The Śātakarnīs were brāhmaṇas and the Śaka kings Nāhavānī and his son-in-law Usavadāta were pro-brāhmaṇas. But they, to a certain extent, encouraged the Buddhists also. There are inscriptions in which they granted lands and privileges to Buddhists also. The dedication of stūpas and sculptures of the Buddhists and Jainas continued through their sway. But we hear very little of the Buddhists in Magadha and Central India. In the sixth century of the Nirvāna era, however, the Northern Buddhists made a great headway in the Punjab. The coins and inscriptions of the Parthians, Greeks, Yuechi and Kuṣānas show traces of Buddhism in them and they seem to have converted the Kuṣāna emperor, Kaniṣka to their faith. His conversion was a great triumph to the Buddhists. For he was the supreme ruler of all the countries from Vindhya to the Altai mountains and during his reign they had access to Central Asia where they planted their faith and remained dominant for several centuries, carrying Indian civilization to the Tokharas and Turks. In Central Asia they first made their acquaintance with the Chinese and gradually converted nearly the whole of the Celestial Empire to their faith. But that is another story.

But before giving an account of Buddhism in Kaniṣka's time it is necessary to speak of Buddhism or Buddhist works supposed to have been written before his time. These are *Lankāvatāra*, *Gandavyūha* and *Śrīgauṇa sūtra*. Of these the *Lankāvatāra* is well-known. Buddha Śākyamuni preached to Rāvaṇa at Lankā. He solved the doubts of his hearers on such questions as from what principle of human nature ratiocination had its origin ? How can agreements be made pure ? How to detect fallacies ? What are fallacies ? Where did the emancipated go ? How can one in bondage be

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emancipated ? What is Nirvāṇa ? How do Arahats and Tathāgatas hold to meditation of Bodhisattvas ? Whether the Tathāgata is eternal and so on. The questions are on Logic and Philosophy. I take them from Rajendra Lal's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*. The late lamented Harinath De published a pamphlet in which 20 different systems of thought were culled out from the *Lankāvatāra*. The Nepalese call it a Mahāyāna Sūtra but Suzuki in his notes on the *Awakening of Faith* characterises it as pre-Mahāyāna or at least pre-Nāgārjuna. So is Gaṇḍavyūha. It is called Ghanavyūha in Chinese which the Nepalese call Mahāyāna but Suzuki pre-Nāgārjuna. It has been described by Raja R. L. Mitra.

Yuan Chwang tells us that Kaniṣka held a Council in Kāśmīra in which all the N. Buddhists were invited. The S. Buddhists were *nonest* there. There were five hundred monks, they settled the canon of N. Buddhism and made a commentary entitled *Vibhāṣā* which they inscribed in copper plates and kept the inscriptions under a huge stūpa close to the place of the Assembly. I am disposed to think that the Vaibhāṣika sect took their cue from the Vibhāṣā. But no information on this subject have come from Indian sources. All information is buried in Chinese translations. So it seems that there is no information about the Council held during the reign of emperor Kaniṣka except what is given by Yuan Chwang. But we know from Chinese sources that Kaniṣka had three eminent Indians at his Court, one is Māṭhara, the well-known commentator of Sāṃkhya Kārikās, one, Caraka, the redactor of an ancient medical work by Atri and Āgoiveśa and the other was Asvaghoṣa, Kaniṣka's spiritual Guru. He was born at Śāketa in Oudh, his mother's name was Suvarṇāṅkṣī. He was a *bhadanta*, he was a philosopher, a poet, a musician and a great preacher. His voice was so loud that he was called Asvaghoṣa (or neighing like a horse). Suzuki calls him a Mahāyānist and has translated his philosophical work, Mahāyāna Śraddhotpāda Sūtra, or awakening of faith in Mahāyāna. But Mahāyāna was not yet. It came two

generations after Aśvaghoṣa. The *Awakening* is a wonderful work. Its original has not been yet found. Suzuki translated the Chinese translation, which treats of all the great problems of Mahāyāna. But there is nothing of Mahāyāna in Aśvaghoṣa's great epics. The Buddhacarita has been edited from very inferior materials by the late E. B. Cowell who was for some years the Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. Better materials are now available as I have shown in one of my papers in the *JASB*. But Cowell had done another thing. The Sanskrit Buddhacarita is only half the work, the other half is yet unavailable. But Cowell has translated the Chinese translation of Buddhacarita also which is complete in 28 cantos. His other epic the Saundarānanda was discovered by me and has been edited by me from old and good materials. Both are epics of great merit written in Classical Sanskrit in which the majority of Buddhist works are written. The Buddhacarita deals with the epic life of Buddha and the Saundarānanda with that of his step-brother Nanda. The doctrines are those of N. Buddhism and not yet of Mahāyāna. Buddha speaks to Nanda "You have done your duty, you are emancipated, now go and preach and save others", exactly what the Mahāvastu speaks of. It is not S. Buddhism for no emphasis is laid on discipline and the regulation of conduct. The poetry of both these works is of a very high order. The characters are distinct and very well-drawn. The images, the descriptions and the similes are all that can be desired. Subsequent Sanskrit poets even Kālidāsa is indebted to Aśvaghoṣa for many of his most admired similes. But I need not expatiate on them here as I have done so in the preface to my edition of the Saundarānanda.

It is said that emperor Kaniṣka invested Pataliputra. The king was not prepared to defend his capital and sued for peace but Kaniṣka demanded nine crores of rupees which the king had not. It was afterwards settled that the king should send Aśvaghoṣa to Kaniṣka and the Emperor would value him at three crores of rupees. Buddha's alms-bowl was valued at three crores of rupees and some other relic at the same

price. From this it will be seen how greatly Aśvaghoṣa was appreciated by his contemporaries. Aśvaghoṣa seems to have been originally a brāhmaṇa. His knowledge of the Vedas and the brāhmaṇic law is deep and profound. He distinctly lays down that Buddha's religion was an outcome of the Sāṃkhya doctrines of Kapila. Sāṃkhya's aim was to become Kevala or absolute but Buddha saw that no entity can be absolute and unconditioned, and he so modified Kapila's doctrine as to destroy the entity of the soul. But I have spoken of Aśvaghoṣa and Kaniṣka at greater length than I proposed. I must now proceed to more important developments of Northern Buddhism.

The geographical distribution of N. and S. Buddhism was not carefully kept. There were S. Buddhist in the North and N. Buddhist in the South. The *Laṅkāvatāra* is an instance to the point. The scene was placed at Laṅkā to make it very prominent. Rāvaṇa is made one of the interlocutors. Yet the work belongs to Northern Buddhism. The scenes in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* are laid in the South but it is Northern Buddhism. The Nepalese call it even Mahāyāna. But two of the greatest figures in N. Buddhism came from the South. These are Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. One is the father of Mahāyāna and the other his disciple. Nāgārjuna is said to have been the friend of one of the Sātakarṇis, and Āryadeva hails from Kāñci. Nāgārjuna preached the Śūnyavāda which was the essence of the Mahāyāna School.

Nāgārjuna is regarded at least as the St. Paul if not as the Christ of Mahāyāna. He is said to have drawn out from the nether world a new Buddhist scripture in Sanskrit called the Prajñāpāramitā. There is a misapprehension among the learned men as regards Prajñāpāramitā. There are several recensions of this work from Svalpākṣarā or in a few words to one of 150 ślokas, one of 700 ślokas, one of 1500 ślokas, one of 8000 ślokas, one of 10000 ślokas, one of 25000 ślokas, one of 100,000 ślokas and some say one of 125,000 ślokas. Some think that the original work was of 100000 ślokas and the rest are

abridgements. But my information is otherwise. The earliest recension is that of 10000 ślokas as I learn from the Chinese sources. But it is very nearly identical with the 8000 divided into 32 parivarttas. Shortly after the time of Nāgārjuna one Maitreyanātha wrote a work in mnemonic verses called *Kārikās* in Sanskrit divided in eight chapters entitled *Abhisamayālāñ-kāra Kārikās* which laid the foundation of the Yogācāra School and the Prajñāpāramitā of the 8000 ślokas was modified and enlarged according to these *Kārikās* into a recension of 25000 divided into eight chapters according to the *Kārikās*. The *Satasāhasrikā* is still later. In Chinese the 25000 was translated first of all, then the 8000 and then the 100000 which was translated by Yuan Chwang on his return from India. The 125000 appears to be a myth but not so the 1500. Of the seven hundred I have seen two copies one in the MSS. Library of the Mahārājā of Benares where it is classed under Kāvyas and the other I collected for the A. S. B. Of the *Svalpākṣarā* I have seen three copies which between the usual prologue and the epilogue in Prajñāpāramitā works contains one sentence to the effect that *karuṇā* is the essential feature of Buddhism. At the end of all these copies it is stated that Nāgārjuna recovered the Prajñāpāramitā from the nether regions. Raja R. Mitra has published the Prajñāpāramitā of 8000 ślokas in the Bibl. Ind. series and the study of the work shows that it is rank Śūnyavāda. Prajñāpāramitā means knowledge par excellence. What is that ? Omniscience. What is omniscience ? The knowledge that all the phenomenal existence is Śūnya or void. Examine any phenomenon, it has no substratum. Go on examining all the phenomena. They are all without a substratum. The subjective phenomena too have no substratum, neither matter has any substratum nor has mind. The soul has no substratum. Everything resolves into Śūnya. What is Śūnya ? Is it existence ? No. Is it non-existence ? No. Is it a combination of the two ? No. Is it a negation of the two ? No. What is it then ? It is that to which neither existence nor non-existence nor a combination of the two nor a negation of the

two can be predicated. What is it then ? It is Anirvācya that which cannot be explained, that which cannot be spoken of. That which cannot be comprehended. That which cannot be imagined. You may call it Transcendental that which transcends our senses, that which transcends our faculties. It is not what the Śrāvakas or the S. Buddhist aims at. It is beyond these narrow-minded members of the Monastic order. It is beyond the narrow-minded order of Friars. Who are its votaries then ? The Bodhisattvas, those who after their exertions during innumerable births and strenuous effort have resolved upon attaining the knowledge *par excellence*. They are only waiting that some Buddha may appear in the world and prophesy that they should in some future kalpa become omniscient and resolved upon emancipating all the sentient beings. In their zeal for omniscience they developed a sense of mercy, a sense of sympathy, a sense of all embracing karunā for all sentient beings that they can wait for eternity or any long period of time and suffer any amount of privation, undergo any amount of suffering, undergo any number of births and deaths, in order to save all sentient beings from the bondage of births and deaths, they are prepared to suffer for any length of time.

This is in short the teaching of Nāgārjuna both in the Prajñāpāramitā and in his Mādhyamika Kārikās. The Kārikās are written in terse and vigorous philosophical language but the Prajñāpāramitās are written in the form of harangues addressed to ordinary people, and as all harangues are full of repetitions, Rajendra Lal complains that all Buddhist Sanskrit works are written in a verbose style. Yes, they must be. The author is addressing illiterate people on very abstruse subjects much beyond the comprehension even of the learned.

(To be continued)

HARAPRASAD SASTRI

Some Observations on Puṣyamitra and his Empire

II

It is a well-known fact that Puṣyamitra did not inherit the Maurya empire in its entirety.

The Andhras had declared independence in the Deccan and a passage in *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act I, passage 36—S. P. Pandit's edition) seems to indicate Narmadā as the southern boundary of the Śunga kingdom. The passage is, however, not without difficulty. All the manuscripts, except one, give the name of the river as Mandākinī, and only a Telugu manuscript from Bangalore has the reading 'Nammadā-kule'¹. This last manuscript, however, is said to be 'a very correct one' and 'almost free from error' (Introduction to *Ibid.*, p. iii). We know of no Mandākinī river² situated sufficiently near the road from Vidisā to Vidarbha, as would suit the context, and hence it is probable that the reading 'Narmadā' is the correct one. Sankar Pandurang Pandit refers to 'a practice, still very common all over India, of designating any sacred river by the most sacred river-name, as Gaṅgā &c.'. This would account for the 'Narmadā' being called 'the Mandākinī' 'the river of the heaven'.

In *Mālavikāgnimitra* Vidarbha or Berar is spoken of as an independent kingdom. This also indicates the Narmadā to be the southern boundary of the Śungas. The author of *Mālavikāgnimitra* seems to have an intimate knowledge of

¹ Mr. V. Smith says "one of the Bombay manuscripts reads the Prākṛt equivalent of Narmadā". Probably it is a mistake; if not, it corroborates the Telugu Ms.

² There is an actual river of this name flowing, according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, from the Rikṣa Mountain (See *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 184, No. 70).

the Śuṅgas (cf. the letter from Puṣyamitra to Agnimitra, in Act V) and hence his statements may be accepted as historical.

In the south-east Kaliṅga had probably become already independent, and the Śuṅga supremacy stopped at its boundary.

In Northern India, the power of Puṣyamitra seems at one time to have extended to the Indus. This follows from a passage in *Mālavikāgnimitra* (canto V, passage 121)* where Puṣyamitra informs his son, that the sacrificial horse he let loose was captured by the Yavanas, while wandering on the south side of the Sindhu (*Sindhordakṣinarodhasi*), and then there was great fight.

Wilson took the "Sindhu to mean the celebrated river Indus, and it must be admitted that that is the view which naturally suggests itself to one's mind. Demetrios led the Bactrian Greeks towards the Indus about 190 B. C., and his example was followed by others. Hence it is extremely probable that the Greek and the Indian army should come into conflict on the bank of the Indus. Cunningham, however, took a different view¹, and identified the Sindhu of *Mālavikāgnimitra* with the river of the same name that flows from the Yamunā through Sindhia's territory. As his opinion has been accepted by many scholars, including Mr. V. A. Smith², the grounds on which it is based require careful examination. I quote his own words :— "But as Puṣyamitra and his son Agnimitra are called the rulers of Vidiśā, which is described as lying to the north of the Vindhya mountains, and as bounded by the kingdom of Vidarbha or Berar on the South, the Sindhu of the drama cannot possibly be the Indus. The great Indus also flows from north to south, and has no *south bank*, on which the skirmish with the Yavana cavalry, as described

¹ *Num. Chronicle*, 1870, pp. 226-27.

² *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., pp. 200-1.

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by Puṣyamitra could have taken place, ... the only one which has a south bank is the famous Sindhu of Narwar".

Thus the argument really consists of two parts :—

(1) Puṣyamitra was the ruler of Vidiśā and his forces therefore cannot be expected so far north as the Punjab.

(2) The Indus has no south bank.

As regards the first, Cunningham was certainly in error when he said 'that Puṣyamitra was called the ruler of Vidiśā' for Puṣyamitra has never been called the king of Vidiśā in *Malavikāgnimitra*. It is now admitted on all hands, that Puṣyamitra ruled at Pataliputra, and Vidiśā was one of the outlying provinces of the Empire. It is again well-known that he succeeded the Mauryas whose empire at one time certainly extended to the Indus and beyond, and there is therefore no inherent improbability in the assumption that the arms of Puṣyamitra reached the Indus. Again it is to be remembered that the movement of the sacrificial horse was not to be confined within the limits of one's own kingdom, but it was sent as a challenge to neighbouring kings.

The other contention of Cunningham, viz., that the Indus has no south bank may be disposed of easily. The Sindhu of Narwar also flows from north to south, but it takes a bend near Narwar, for some distance, in the direction of east to west, thus creating a south bank. A similar bend might have existed in the course of the Indus twenty-one hundred years ago, for it is a well-known fact that the river courses have greatly changed during this long interval. V. Smith says that 'the courses of the rivers (Indus and its tributaries) have ranged, as the old channels indicate, over a space, a hundred and ten miles wide in the region of the final confluence¹'. It is to be remembered also that the word 'Dakṣiṇa' means 'south' as well as 'right' (as opposed to left). The passage might therefore also refer to the right

Early History of India, 2nd ed., p. 96.

bank of the Indus, and no question of a south bank therefore arises.

But while Cunningham's arguments against taking the normal interpretation of the 'Sindhu river' mentioned in *Malavikāgnimitra*, do not carry much weight, there is one consideration which seems to be decisive. It is related in •*Malavikāgnimitra* that the news of young Vasumitra's sanguinary fights with the Greeks on the banks of the Sindhu were first reported to the court of Vidiśā by Puṣyamitra in a letter which he addressed to his son from the city of Pataliputra. That the court of Vidiśā was till then absolutely ignorant of the whole thing follows clearly from the breathless anxiety with which Vasumitra's mother was listening to the letter in order to learn the fate of her son. Now, if the river Sindhu on the bank of which the battle took place was meant for the Sindhu of Narwar, which must have been within a few miles of the kingdom of Vidiśā, if not actually included in it, is it conceivable that Agnimitra would have remained ignorant of it, till the news reached Pataliputra and thence to Vidiśā. On the other hand as there was a royal road from Pataliputra to the Panjab we can easily understand how the royal couriers would take the news from the Indus to Pataliputra before the outlying provinces in Central India could know anything of it. It appears to me, therefore, certain, that by the river Sindhu Kalidāsa certainly meant the famous river of the Panjab. He was too ingenious a dramatist to overlook the incongruity of the dramatic situation which he tried to evolve, if the mother of Vasumitra, naturally so anxious for her son's fate, would not have cared to know of the battle in which he was engaged a few miles off her frontier, and patiently waited for a report from Pataliputra.

From general considerations also, the interpretation of Wilson seems more reasonable. In the first place, we are told that there was a conflict between the Greeks and the Indians, on the bank of the Sindhu. Now this is easily intelligible, if we mean by the Sindhu, the celebrated river

Indus, which from its proximity to the Greek kingdom might have had on its bank a settlement of the Greeks. The same thing cannot be predicted, with any amount of certainty, of the Sindhu of Narwar. Mr. V. Smith indeed says that "those disputants may have been part of the division of Menander's army which had undertaken the siege of Madhyamikā in Rajputana"¹. But the date of Menander is not as certainly fixed as Mr. V. Smith took it to be, and even if we accept that his invasion took place during Puṣyamitra's reign, and that a division of his army both besieged Madhyamikā and opposed the Sunga army on the bank of the Sindhu of Narwar, it is difficult to understand how Puṣyamitra could have undertaken the Rājasūya sacrifice for proclaiming a formal claim to the rank of Lord Paramount of Northern India 'at a time when the viciously valiant Greeks' reached the very heart of Northern India, in course of their conquering expedition.

This brings us to another consideration in favour of Wilson's interpretation which possesses no inconsiderable weight. Puṣyamitra celebrated the sacrifice in order to lay claim to the rank of Lord Paramount of Northern India. The conquest of the whole of Northern India up to the Indus is certainly required to justify such an ambitious claim. On the other hand such a claim must have been considered pretentious, nay almost ridiculous, if his power extended no further than the Sindhu of Narwar. For whatever might have been the case with more degenerate times when a provincial Lord assumed the title and dignity of a mighty Emperor, Puṣyamitra lived in a generation which had witnessed an empire almost as wide as India itself. It is inconceivable that to the people accustomed to the dignity of the Maurya empire, Puṣyamitra could have the impudence to stand forth as the paramount emperor of Northern India, when the dominions traversed by

¹ *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 201.

the sacrificial horse extended no further than the Sindhu of Narwar.

Finally we must mention a Buddhist tradition recorded in Tārānāth that Puṣyamitra burnt a number of monasteries from *Madhyadeśa* as far as *Jalandhara*¹. This also indicates a belief that the empire of Puṣyamitra, at one time, extended up to Jalandhara.

These considerations may not be decisive but are certainly too weighty to justify Mr. V. Smith's curt and uncourteous remark viz. "Wilson's belief that the arms of Puṣyamitra reached the Indus was due to a misunderstanding". In any case, I believe a fair-minded critic must admit that the balance of probability inclines in favour of Wilson's arguments, and the presumption that the Sindhu is the celebrated Indus, is more reasonable than that it denotes the river of the same name that separates Rajputana from Bundelkhand.

We may therefore accept, in the absence of other proofs to the contrary, that Puṣyamitra's conquest extended to the Indus. It is one thing, however, to conquer a country while it is altogether a different thing to permanently administer it.

(*To be continued*)

R. C. MAZUMDAR

¹ "von Madhayadesa bis Dschalamdhara" Schiefner, p. 81 quoted in V. Smith's *Early History*, p. 205.

The Story Of Nurse Pānnā—Is It Historically True ?

The story of Nurse Pānnā as given in the pages of Tod has immortalised her name. She is depicted in the brightest colour possible. Her unparalleled devotion to duty, her loyalty to the family she served and her self-sacrifice manifested throughout the story with which her name is connected and which is so glowingly described in the Rājasthān have served to make her an example to the whole of India.

It is the object of the present article to examine the story in the light of knowledge derived from a first hand study of the authorities some of which were not accessible to Tod when he wrote his famous book. Besides other authorities, help will also be obtained from a Rājasthāni manuscript compiled about the middle of the seventeenth century. The compiler of this manuscript was Mūtā Nensi, who was for some time minister of Mahārājā Yaśovanta Simha of Jodhpur and the work is thus popularly known as the Khyāta or Chronicle of Mūtā Nensi. The references in the following pages are to a text in my possession.

The story as narrated by Tod is thus briefly told. Udaya Simha, a posthumous child of Rāṇā Saṅga, was about six years old when his elder brother, Vikramāditya, the ruling prince, was assassinated by Banbīr. Udaya's nurse Pānnā, alarmed lest her charge would be the next victim, put the child "into a fruit basket and covering it with leaves" sent it out of the fortress through a servant. To remove suspicion she put in Udaya Simha's place her own son who was immediately killed by Banbīr. Everyone even "the inconsolable household of their late sovereign" believed that it was Udaya Simha who had thus been put to death. In the meantime the servant was "awaiting the nurse some miles west of Chitor, and, fortunately the infant had not awoke until he descended the city". Pānnā met him at the appointed

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place, took charge of the child and wandered from place to place for shelter till she came to Kumbhalmer. The Governor of that fort was told that the child was "his sovereign...the son of Sāṅga" and was with difficulty prevailed upon to accept the charge of the prince who was passed off by him as his nephew. "Seven years elapsed before the secret transpired". Rumour brought the nobles of Mewar...when all doubt was removed by the testimony of the nurse" and the servant. "The Chauhan sardar of Kotaria who was throughout acquainted with the secret, ate off the same platter with him in order to dissipate the remaining scruples which attached to the infant's preservatiou"¹.

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It will be seen that the most romantic episode of the story as told by Tod rests upon the assumption that Udaya Simha, at the time of his brother's assassination, was a mere child. He is in fact said to have been 'only six years of age'. This presupposition is essential to the validity of Tod's version of the story in the incidents of which Udaya Simha was the main but a passive factor; for it will be admitted that events which can be held to be probable in regard to a child cannot claim the same amount of credence when a grown up boy is concerned. Thus it is possible for a sleeping child of six to be carried away in a fruit basket by a single servant for some distance, but common sense will certainly refuse to entertain the idea that a boy of fifteen, while asleep, could be carried away in the same manner. We may concede that a child of six may be easily replaced by another of its own age, both being asleep, but it is certainly difficult to believe that the place of a boy, about three times as old, could be quietly taken by another, who, to avoid suspicion, must have been of the same age, and both of them quite unconscious of what was happening. Then again, it may be possible to conceal the

¹ Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edited by W. Crooke, Vol. I, pp. 267-9.

identity of a child who may never have been sent outside the harem, but it is impossible to believe that a boy of fifteen who had taken an active part in state affairs would require the assistance of witnesses to get the question of identity solved before the sardars among whom he had passed a part of his life and with whom he came into contact almost every day.

It is clear from what is said above that if instead of being a child of six Udaya Simha could be proved to have been a fully grown up boy quite capable of exercising discrimination, the credibility of the story given by Tod would be considerably lessened. The age of Udaya Simha at the time of his brother's assassination being thus a vital point for the truth or otherwise of the story of Tod, an attempt will be made to arrive at a definite idea about it and for this purpose assistance will be received from two independent sources—the Rājasthāni Chronicle above referred to and the Mahomedan accounts relating to the time.

Two Mahomedan rulers of the period came in touch with Mewar and their activities throw light upon its history. These were Sultan Bahadur Shah of Guzerat and the Emperor Humayun of Delhi. The former led two expeditions against Mewar in 1532-3 and 1534-5 respectively. As a result of the second expedition Chitor was sacked and the Mahārāṇā Vikramāditya fled to Būndī along with his younger brother Udaya Simha. Shortly after the fall of Chitor, Humayun defeated Sultan Bahadur Shah and overran the whole Guzerat. The Emperor then came to Māndū late in August, 1536¹, and spent some months there in pursuit of pleasure, till the news of the disturbances created by Sher Shah in the east of his dominions reaching him he started for Agra by way of Chitor. What events took place there is not recorded by the Mahomedan historians but our manuscript distinctly says that Humayun reseated Vikramāditya on the throne of

¹ *Akbarnamah*, by Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 312.

Mewar¹. This last incident must have occurred late in the year 1536, probably late in November of that year ; for, Humayun marched from Chitor to Agra and reached there in the middle of December, 1536. After Vikramāditya had thus regained his paternal throne, Col. Tod tells us that his headstrong policy alienated the sardars of the state who formed a party and approached Banbīr with an appeal to deliver them from the hands of the tyrant. It must have taken some time for the discontent to spread and the sardars to form a party, and, as Vikramāditya had been reinstalled about November, 1536, his assassination at the hands of Banbīr may be safely assumed to have taken place in 1537. It must be borne in mind that Vikramāditya was a *protege* of Humayun, and as such it seems unlikely that so long as the latter was at Agra, Banbīr would dare take such a drastic action against him. Humayun marched against Sher Shah in December 1537, and it was perhaps after that time that Banbīr assassinated Vikramāditya.

It is with reference to this year, 1537, that Udaya Simha is said by Tod to have been about six years of age. If we take Tod's statement to be correct we must assume that Udaya Simha was born in 1531 A. D. The acceptance of such a view is attended with a serious difficulty. Babur in his memoirs tells us that in September 1528 Rānā Saṅga (Udaya's father) was already dead² ; and, in accepting Tod's estimate as correct we are led to the impossible position that the son was born three years after his father's death. We cannot explain away the difficulty even if it be accepted that Udaya Simha was the posthumous son of his father³.

Let us proceed one step further. We have already noted that Sultan Bahadur Shah of Guzerat led two expeditions into

¹ Mūhaṇota Nensi's *Khyāta of the Sisodiyās*, folio 17.

² *Memoirs of Babur*, by Mrs. Beveridge, Sec. III, p. 612

³ Cf. *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 361, where Tod says, "the posthumous son of Rana Sanga".

Mewar. What was the necessity of two expeditions being undertaken against the same state within such a short period? The Mahomedan chronicler says that "the ambition of conquering Chitor again took possession of Bahadur Shah's mind" and he marched against Chitor in 1534¹. The excuse set forth is hardly satisfactory. The Mahomedan historian has apparently failed to recount the real cause of the second expedition, and, I think the only convincing explanation is that which is given in Mūhan̄ota Nensi's *Khyāta*. It says that in accordance with one of the terms in the treaty of 1533, Udaya Simha was sent as a hostage to the court of Bahadur Shah, but the Rājput prince fled from the Mahomedan court after a short stay, thus violating the most important term of the treaty. As a consequence Bahadur Shah set out on his second expedition against Mewar². We cannot explain it in any other way and Nensi deserves our credit for filling up this discrepancy in the Mahomedan accounts.

We thus find that in 1533, Udaya Simha was old enough to be sent as a hostage to a foreign court. On this consideration alone we must shift back the date of Udaya Simha's birth by some time before his father's death in 1528. Mūhan̄ota Nensi again is responsible for providing us with an exact date for this event. He says that Udaya Simha was born in 1597 V. S.³ corresponding to 1522 A. D. approximately. Thus Udaya Simha was a boy of eleven years at the time when, accompanied by several sardars of the state, he went to the court of the Sultan of Guzerat as a hostage for the state of Mewar.

Udaya was thus a boy of fifteen in 1537, the year when his elder brother Vikramāditya was in all probability put to death by Banbir. He was not therefore so young as to be incapable of understanding the danger that threatened his

¹ Bayley, *Local Muhammedan Dynasties*, p. 374.

² Mūhan̄ota Nensi's *Khyāta* of the *Sisodiyās*, folios 38-9.

³ *Ibid*, folio 18.

life. He could not also be carried by a single person in a fruit basket from his sleeping apartment outside the citadel without his being cognisant of the fact. Moreover, if Udaya Simha's nurse had in reality placed her own son in his bed to remove suspicion, the latter must also be regarded to have been of the same age and thus fully conscious of the danger he was being thrown into. Again, it will have to be conceded that the deception could not have been maintained long after the murder of Udaya Simha's substitute. Udaya, as we have indicated above, was already well known in Chitor and it is permissible to think that had Udaya Simha's place been taken by another it would have certainly been detected specially at the time of cremation. On the contrary, Tod would have us believe that even the "inconsolable household of the late sovereign supposed that their grief was given to the last pledge of the illustrious Sanga." The chief sardars with exception of one who was acquainted with Pānnā's action believed that it was Udaya Simha who had been put to death by Banbir and could not recognize him at Kumbhalmer although these were the very persons with whom he must have come into contact almost everyday in his life ! Banbir the assassin ruled at Chitor believing that Udaya was no more, and it was not till seven years had elapsed that the reality broke upon him !

The above considerations will certainly throw doubt upon the authenticity of the story of nurse Pānnā as told by Tod. In fact the assumption upon which Tod's story rests, namely that Udaya was a mere child and a passive factor at the hands of his supporters, falling to the ground, the details of the story which can be justified only upon that assumption, must also be rejected. This need not cause surprise ; for, Tod himself tells us ¹ that he relied upon oral traditions, among others, for the composition of his Annals of Mewar. It is probably upon the authority of some such tradition that Tod wrote this romantic episode in his famous book.

SUBIMAL CHANDRA DATTA

¹ *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 251.

Rāma·Rāya, Regent of Vijayanagara (1542-1565)

II

The fact is related by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda and, although some authors considered his narrative untrustworthy¹, we cannot but admit its truthfulness, considering the fact that several events connected with this rebellion occurred in the very capital of Golkonda in his own days. I shall quote the whole passage of the Muhammadan writer here.

"During the absence of Rāmrāj from his capital (to help the Sultan of Bijāpur against that of Ahmednagar, as we shall relate in one of the following chapters) his two brothers, Timrāj and Govindrāj, (sic) who were placed in the government of Adoni, taking advantage of his absence usurped the control not only of Adoni, but collecting a force, compelled several other districts to submit to their authority. Rāmrāj, on his return to Vijayanagara, wrote in the first place letters to his rebel brothers, which they treated with contempt, relying upon their own force ; and he unable to subdue them, was induced to send ambassadors to the court of Golkonda to solicit assistance. Ibrāhīm Qutab Shāh immediately despatched Qabul Khān, at the head of six thousand infantry, to join Rāmrāj. On reaching Vijayanagara Rāmrāj ordered his own troops into the field ; and having directed Sidraj Timapa, Nur Khān and Bijlī Khān, with their different corps, to join the subsidiary force, he ordered them to march against the rebels. The insurgents, finding themselves unable to oppose the royalists, took shelter in the strong fortress of Adoni, which was besieged for a period of six months; when being distressed for provisions, the garrison sent petitions to the throne of Vijayanagara.

¹ Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty, A. S. Report, 1911-2*, p. 178.

Rāmraj pardoned his brothers, and recalled the forces to the capital ; whence, after being handsomely rewarded, Qabul Khān received permission to return to Golkonda, where the king honoured him with the title of Ein-ul-Mulk¹.

The pardon so graciously granted by Rāma Rāya to his brothers is inexplicable at first but after consideration, it is not unnatural. He wanted to strengthen his power as the same writer points out—"by the reduction of many troublesome neighbours, and the elevation of his own adherents and relatives"². This is the place for examining some facts that confirm the second point of the preceding statement.

In 1552 Tirumala is known to have ruled the Kocchar-lakōṭa śīma³. Afterwards in 1558-9 a private grant was made while Sadāśiva was ruling at Vijayanagara and Tirumala ruling at Kondavidū⁴. This kingdom had been granted to him by Sadāśiva, that is by Rāma Rāya in the name of Sadāśiva. Raṅga, son of the same Tirumala informs us of this in a grant of him dated 1565-6⁵. But probably Tirumala never resided at Kondavidū ; we frequently find him at Vijayanagara ; for instance, an inscription at Munelli, Badvēl Taluk shows that Tirumala in 1557-8 was in the capital administering the empire on behalf of Sadāśiva⁶. In a copper plate grant of the same year, Tirumala granted some privileges to Mahipati Yerrammāṇāyaka for faithful service done to the State and for guarding the villages of Guti, Tādpatri, Vellalūra, Singanamalā and Siyyada⁷. This shows beyond doubt that Tirumala was present there in charge of the government of the State, whenever Rāma Rāya was

1 Ferishta, Briggs, III, pp. 397-8.

2 Ibid., p. 381.

3 156 or 1905.

4 Butterworth, o.c., II, pp. 952-5.

5 Ibid., pp. 946-50

6 Brackenbury, *Cuddapah Gazetteer*, p. 37.

7 Catalogue of Copper-plate grants in the Government Museum, Madras, p. 53.

absent for war or business purposes. He had an agent at Gudūr of whom we know two charitable edicts of the year 1555-6¹ and 1559-60² respectively.

We know likewise that Venkatādri ruled the country round Tiruvayār near Tanjore in 1559³. A year or two before the disaster of Talikota, he is stated to have been "ruling the whole kingdom" and, in this capacity, to have conferred the government of Bārakūra-rājya on Sadāśiva-Nāyaka, the founder of the Ikēri Nāyakas⁴.

One of the relations of Rāma Rāya elevated by his power was his cousin Viṭṭhala⁵. He was appointed Viceroy of Sadāśiva in the Southern country and Ceylon⁶. A nephew of Rāma Rāya, Kondarāja was also exalted by the influential uncle : he was the grandson of Peda Kondarāja, the brother of Rāma Rāya's father, Raṅga⁷. In an inscription of 1556 he is called "Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Komāra Kondarājajyyadeva Mahā-arasu"⁸. He is likewise mentioned in two inscriptions at Bādāmi⁹. His influence at court is shown by the grant of Sadāśiva recorded in the British Museum Plates for fostering Viṣṇu's cult. This grant had been requested by Kondarāja to Rāma Rāya¹⁰. In 1558, Sadāśiva makes another grant on the application of Rāma Rāya, Kondarāja having again made the petition¹¹. Finally another inscription of 1561 records a grant of Konēti Kondarājadeva to the spiritual preceptor¹². Jillela Raṅgapatirājajyyadeva Mahārāja, related to the Āravīdu family on his mother's side, was

¹ Butterworth, o.c., I, pp. 458-60.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 456-8.

³ 126 of 1894.

⁴ H. Krishna Sastri, o.c., p. 179.

⁵ M.E.R., 1911, p. 86; 1912, pp. 82 ff.

⁶ 129 of 1905; cf. Heras, *Rāma Rāya Viṭṭhala, Viceroy of Southern India*, Q.J.M.S., xv, pp. 176-190.

⁷ British Museum Plates of Sadāśiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 4. vv.

^{125-40.}

⁸ *Ep. Carn.*, I, pp. 12, 19.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 64

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, p. 2.

¹¹ *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp. 186.

¹² *M.A.D.*, 1920, p. 59.

also elevated by the powerful Regent. He was appointed Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and governor of Rāmadurgam-sīma, where he had an agent called Amarināyami Veṅgala Nāyaṇīngāru¹. Moreover Rāma Rāya "was so generous", according to Manucci,—"that it is remarked in the chronicles that he never refused any favour asked. He confirmed any grant he made by a record of golden plates....Owing to the liberality of this Emperor his fame spread, and many men of different nations resorted to him and entered his service, principally foreigners"².

This elevation of relatives was not only in order to strengthen his actual power but to prepare thereby the final step he was contemplating. The beginning of the second stage had been marked by a *coupd'etat* for such indeed was the imprisonment of the Sovereign. But for the beginning of the third, no such strong action was necessary. The omission of the annual show of the puppet Emperor, coupled with rumours purposely spread by the very agents of Rāma Rāya about the supposed demise of the Sovereign, was quite enough for every body to acknowledge Rāma Rāya as the new Emperor of Vijayanagara, seeing that he was practically the Sovereign and also the closest relative of Sadāśiva, although belonging to a different family.

There are several grants and inscriptions belonging to this second stage which prove the preparation for this final step. In 1551 in the Bēvinahalli grant of Sadāśiva, Rāma Rāya is already given the title "King of Karnāṭa"³ likewise, in another grant of Sadāśiva in 1556-7⁴. In 1554, Rāma Rāya himself made another grant to some brāhmaṇas in the same form as the old grants of the emperors of Vijayanagara. In the beginning, it invokes Ganeśa and the Boar, the sportive incarnation of Viṣṇu; then it relates Rāma Rāya's pedigree from Buddha and the Purūravas, speaks of the deeds

¹ 445 of 1911.

² Manucci, *Storia do Magor*, III, 97.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 230, v. 30.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 154.

of Rāma Rāya and his brothers, without mentioning Sadāśiva at all, and says finally : "while having uprooted all the enemies, Rāma Rāya ruled over the earth as famous as Bharata and Bhagīratha"¹.

After thirteen years the power of Rāma Rāya in Vijayanagara had become sufficiently strong ; rumours were probably spread about that Sadāśiva was dead. Then the ambitious Regent took for himself the title of king. "After Sadāśiva's death" says Anquetil du Perron, "Rāma Rāya was nominated king"². It seems probable that a real ceremony of enthronement took place in the capital, for C. Frederick expressly says that Rāma Rāya "sat in the Royal throne and was called the king"³. Even Manucci, in 1688, called Rāma Rāya 'Emperor of Narsinga'⁴. And probably new pagodas were at once struck with his name. "We do not know of any coin of Rāma Rāya bearing such an early date but we are aware of coins struck with his name on the eve of the battle of Talikoṭa : the famous *Gandikōṭa pagoda* gives the name of Rāma Rāya and the date 1565 and has on the obverse, a figure of Viṣṇu standing under a canopy⁵.

Since this date, some time in 1563, the ceremony of showing the Emperor to his subjects was discontinued. But the three brothers used to go once a year to his prison-like palace in order to do homage to him as their Sovereign⁶.

The epigraphical evidence on this point is more than sufficient. A copper plate record at Dévarāyadurga of 1562-3 says that Rāma Rāya reigned supreme at Vijayanagara⁷. A private grant of the same year mentions Rāma Rāya as 'ruling the empire', and does not mention Sadāśiva⁸. An

¹ M.A.D., 1923, pp. 125-7.

² Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

³ Frederick, l. c. ; Gubernatis, o.c., p. 290.

⁴ Manucci, o. c., III, p. 97.

⁵ Brown, *Coins of India*, p. 64. (Calcutta 1922).

⁶ Couto, VI, p. 383.

⁷ Ep. Carn., XII, Tm, 44.

⁸ Ibid., Tk. 44.

inscription at Krishnarājapet Taluk records a grant made "while the Rājadhirāja rāja-parameśvara vīra-pratāpa-mahārāya Rāma Deva Rāya Aiyyangar was seated on the jewelled throne in Penukonda"¹. There is still another inscription, dated 1565, the same year as the battle of Talikoṭa, that gives Rāma Rāya the same imperial titles and does not mention Sadāśiva at all; it is a grant made "when the master of Kuntala (Karnāṭa), lord of the throne of Vidyānagari (Vijayanagara), the Rājadhirāja rāja-parameśvara vīra-pratāpa vīra Rāma Deva Rāya mahārāya, seated on the jewelled throne was ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and wisdom"². Even in an inscription of 1581, during the reign of Raṅga I, Rāma Rāya is called Rājadhirāja³, and in another of Veṅkaṭa III, 1639, he is recorded to have 'governed the whole world'⁴. Along with the lythic records, Anantācārya in his poem *Prapannāmṛtam* calls Rāma Rāya 'Emperor of Vijayanagara who ruled after Kṛṣṇa Rāya'⁵.

Now, if the Hindus, who were under Vijayanagara rule, forgot Sadāśiva, who was supposed to be dead, and mentioned only Rāma Rāya as the Emperor of Vijayanagara, no wonder Ferishta says nothing of the former and always speak of the latter as the Sovereign of the rival empire⁶. When detailing the battle of Talikoṭa, we shall see how Ferishta describes the riches of the throne of Rāma Rāya on the battle field. F. Sousa speaks of Cidosa (Sadāśiva) King of Canara (Vijayanagara) but from 1559 the only

¹ *Ibid.*, IV, Kr. 79. I am sure that this inscription is spurious because of the date 1543, and of the mention of Penukonda as the place where the Emperor was residing. The forgery must have been committed during the reign of Raṅga I or Veṅkaṭa II. Nevertheless, even a forgery proves that Rāma Rāya was considered the real Emperor of Vijayanagara.

² *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Ci, 62.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, Kr, 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, Nj, 198.

⁵ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 202.

⁶ Ferishta, Briggs, II, pp. 117, 118, 131, etc.

known king of Vijayanagara according to him is Rāma Rāya¹.

The following information given us by his minister and favourite Rāmayāmātya Todaramalla in his *Svaramēlakalānidhi* probably refers to his time : "He had a palace called Rātnā Kūṭa", says he, "constructed by his minister Rāmayāmātya and he was struck with admiration as it excelled even Vaijayanta, the palace of the gods. The palace was surrounded by extensive gardens, adorned with statues, which contained cool tanks abounding with swans"².

Rāma Rāya at this time handed over to his brothers all the government affairs and devoted himself to music and literature. "Seated within this palace (Ratna Kūṭa)" says Rāmayāmātya, "spent his time in the midst of scholars versed in literature, music and other arts³". Accordingly a grant of Veṅkaṭa II, 1589, informs us that Rāma Rāya had a great pleasure in music on the vīṇā and singing⁴. With these years probably is associated the trip of Rāma Rāya with his Guru Tāṭacārya, the son of Śrīnivāsa, to the fortress of Candragiri, to spend some days in that sacred retirement dedicated to the study of the sāstras⁵. This time of leisure in the last years of Rāma Rāya is also mentioned in the *Memoirs* of Manucci, one century later ; "after this division" says he, "he led a happy life, without attending to government or taking any notice of what went on"⁶.

Tirumala was naturally in charge of the whole government. He was the supreme minister of Vijayanagara during the last days preceding the battle of Talikota⁷. The titles given him at this time are as follows : Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara

1 Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, II, pp. 189, 273 (Lesboa, 1674).

2 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 190. 3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Cy, 39.

5 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 202.

6 Manucci, o. c., III, p. 98.

7 *M. E. R.*, 341, Ape. P. of 1816.

Rāmarāya-Yaram - Tirumalarājajayyadeva - Mahārāja¹. The appointment of Tirumala, as Premier of the Empire, left a vacancy in the viceroyalty of Kondavīdu ; and it was then probably that Rāma Rāya, following his policy of elevating his relatives and friends, appointed to this honour his favourite, the poet Rāmayāmātya, enabling him thus to grant many agrahāras to brāhmaṇas². When the poet died, Siddhirāju Timma Rāju, another nephew of Rāma Rāya was appointed his Viceroy at Kondavīdu³.

Tirumala, besides being Minister was also appointed Governor of Vellore and of the whole surrounding country⁴. We know an inscription of him, dated 1564, allowing Chinna-Bonna Nāyaka of Vellore, to make grants to the temple of that place⁵.

In the new order of government, Veṅkaṭādri was Commander-in-chief of the army⁶. The success attending his conduct as a General in the Vijayanagara army proved that the election was rightly made. The Vellaingudi plates of Veṅkaṭa II recall that 'he was distinguished in the world as a warrior'⁷, and in the *Rāmarājīyamu* he is stated to have been a 'veritable Arjuna in the battle field'⁸.

After a careful study of all these authorities, it appears quite evident that the real founder of the Āravīdu dynasty must not be considered to have been Tirumala, Sadāśiva's successor. His brother Rāma Rāya, some years previous to the Talikota disaster, had already paved for his family the path leading to the throne, which he actually mounted with the unanimous approval of the whole of the Empire.

H. HERAS

¹ Anquetil du Perron, o. c., p. 165.

² S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 190.

³ *Paramayogi Vilāsam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 211.

⁴ Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, Nos. 43-8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69. ⁶ Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, v. 19.

⁸ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 222.

Buddha as an Architect

"In Buddha's time and in that portion of northern India where the Buddhist influence was most early felt—that is to say, in the districts including and adjoining those now called the United Provinces and Behar"—the arrangements of villages were practically similar. "We nowhere hear of isolated houses. The houses were all together, in a group, separated only by narrow lanes. Immediately adjoining was the sacred grove of trees of the primeval forest.....Beyond this was the wide expanse of cultivated field, usually rice-field. Villagers are described as uniting of their own accord to build mote-halls and rest-houses and reservoirs, to mend the roads between their own and adjacent villages, and even to lay out parks."¹

The exact details of town-planning are not available. But "we are told of lofty walls, ramparts with buttresses and watch-towers and great gates ; the whole surrounded by a moat or even a double moat, one of water and one of mud. But we are nowhere told of the length of the fortifications or of the extent of the space they enclosed. It would seem that we have to think not so much of a large walled city as of a fort surrounded by a number of suburbs.....From the frequent mention of the windows of the great houses opening directly on to the streets or squares it would appear that it was not the custom to have them surrounded by any private grounds. There were, however, no doubt, enclosed spaces behind the fronts of the houses, which latter abutted on the streets."²

¹ Buddhist India, Rhys Davids, pp. 42, 45, 49.

² R. D., pp. 64, 65. Cf. The hill fortress, Girivraja, four and half miles in circumference, is said to have been built by Mahāgovinda, the architect. Bimbisāra is stated to have built Rājagaha, king's house, which was three miles in circumference. "The stone walls of Girivraja are the oldest extant stone buildings in India". Mention is also made of

Unlike villages and towns, the details of buildings are found in abundance in the canonical text as well as the Jātakas. At places it appears as if Buddha were delivering discourses on architecture. As a matter of fact, he enjoined upon his devotees the supervision of building construction as one of the duties of the order¹. It is stated in one of the early texts that the bhikkhus were told on a certain occasion by the Blessed One after the delivery of a religious discourse with respect to dwellings : I allow you, O Bhikkhus, abodes of five kinds—*Vihāra*, *Ardhayoga*, *Prasāda*, *Harmya*, and *Guhā*². Buildings are thus divided into five classes. The details of the distinctions are not methodically given in the texts inasmuch as these are not architectural treatises³.

Ayojjhā, Bārānasi, Kampilla, Kosambi, Madhurā, Mithilā, Sāgala, Sāketa, Sāvatthī, Ujjenī, Vesālī and other cities, of which however the architectural details are not enough. (Vimānavatthu commentary, p. 82), compare Digh. XIX, 86 :

Dantapuram Kālingānam Assakānāñca Potanāñ
Māhissatī Avantināñ Sovirānañca Rorukam
Mithilā ca Videhānam Campā Añgesu māpitā,
Bārānasi ca Kāśināñ ete Govinda-māpitā ti.

1 Cullavagga, VI, 17, 1 (transl., pp. 212-216).

2 Vinaya texts, Mahāvagga, I, 30, 4 (pp. 73-4) : Cullavagga, VI, 1, 2 (p. 158).

3 The commentator Buddhaghosa has, however, submitted an explanatory note. 'Vihāra' is the well-known Buddhist monastery. 'Ardhayoga,' which literally means 'half-joining' is stated by this commentator to imply 'Suvarṇa-vaṅga-gṛha' or "gold-coloured Bengal house", as rendered by Oldenberg and Rhys Davids. There seems, however, no such class of houses in Bengal. Nor has this class of buildings been mentioned in the śilpa-sāstras. It is clear, however, that these are meant to imply some sort of luxurious buildings of the then Bengal. Regarding 'prasāda' Buddhaghosa simply says that it is a long prasāda. Rhys Davids has made these conjectures,—"a long storied mansion, or the whole of an upper storey," or the

Vihāras are the well-known monasteries or temples of the Buddhists, originally implying halls where the monks met. *Ardhayogas* seem to be a special kind of Bengal buildings, partly for religious and partly for residential purposes. *Prāsādas* are wholly residential storeyed buildings; *harmyas* are a larger and more pompous type of storeyed buildings. *Guhās* seem to be less dignified buildings, originally built underground for middle class people. The extensiveness of these buildings can be imagined from the length of time devoted to getting a house completely built. Thus it is stated that "with reference to the work of a small *Vihāra*, it may be given in charge (to an overseer) as a *navakamma* (new work) for a period of five or six years, that on an *Addhayoga* for a period of seven or eight years, that on a large *Vihāra* or a *Pāsāda* for ten or twelve years¹." That the long periods were not idled away

storied buildings". Sir M. M. Williams seems to explain this by "the monks' hall for assembly and confession". 'Harmya' is stated to be a *prāsāda* with an upper chamber placed on the top-most storey. The references to the uses of '*prāsāda*' and '*harmya*' as found in the *śilpa-śāstras*, general Sanskrit literatures, and the archæological records will be found in the writer's Dictionary under those terms. 'Guhā' literally means cave and would seem to refer to underground buildings. One of the *Jātakas* (*Ummagga*, p. 430) actually contains an elaborate description of an underground palace, and such have been the rock cut temples, as in the famous Ajanta caves. According to *Buddhaghosa* these 'guhā' buildings are of four kinds, namely, as they are built of bricks, stone, wood, or earth. Rhys Davids has rendered '*śilāguhā*' by 'but made in a rock' and left out the translation of '*pāṃsu*-*(Sanskrit pāṃśu)* meaning sand, dust, or crumbling soil) *guhā*.' *Buddhaghosa* has thus explained the *pañca-lenāni* under *Mahāvagga* 1.30.4—

"*Āddhayoga* ti suvaṇṇavaṇigagehaṁ. *Pāsādo* ti dīghapāsādo. *Hammiyān* ti upari ākāsatale patiṭhitakūṭāgāro pāsādo yeva. *Guhā* ti iṭṭhakaguhā *śilāguhā*, *dāruguhā* *pāṃsuguhā*.

Compare also Oldenberg and Rhys David's *Vinaya* texts, translation, *Mahāvagga*, p. 173 note, also *Cullavagga*, p. 151 note 2.

¹ *Cullavagga*, VI, 17, 1

will be clear from the detail of houses gathered mainly from the Vinaya texts.¹

The selection of building sites shows a highly developed good taste. The *Ārāma*, well fitted for quiet-loving people is stated to be built "not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and for coming, easily accessible for all who wish to visit him, by day not too crowded, by night not exposed to too much noise and alarm....."² The whole compound is enclosed with ramparts (*prākāra*) of three kinds, namely, brick walls, stone walls, and wooden fences which are again surrounded with bamboo fences, thorn fences, and ditches.³

Houses were built comprising "dwelling-rooms and retiring rooms, and store-rooms, and service-halls and halls with fire-places in them, and store-house, and closets, and cloisters, and halls for exercise, and wells, and sheds for the well, and bath-rooms, and halls attached to the bath-rooms, and ponds and open-roofed sheds (*mandapas*)⁴. These buildings are meant to be dwelling houses ; so it is stated that "an *upāsaka* (devotee) has built for his own use a residence, a sleeping room, a stable, a tower, an one-peaked building, a shop, a boutique, a storeyed house, an attic, a cave, a cell, a store-room, a refectory, a fire-room, a kitchen, a privy, a place to walk in, a well, a well-house, a *yantragrha* (which is supposed by Bühler 'to be a bathing place for hot sitting baths'), a *yantragrha* room, a lotus pond and a pavilion"⁵.

The inner chambers are divided into three classes, called *Sivikā-garbha* or square halls, *Nālikā-garbha* or rectangular halls, and *Harmya-garbha*, which seems to be a large dining hall⁶. The verandahs (*alinda*) seem to have been a special characteristic of these buildings. The Blessed One (Buddha)

1 Cullavagga, VI, 5.

2 Ibid., VI, 4, 8.

4 Ibid., VI, 4, 10.

6 About this last Buddhaghosa seems to be doubtful and says

3 Ibid., VI, 3, 7, 10.

5 Mahāvagga III, 5, 9; also III, 5, 6.

hammiya gabbho ti kūtagāra gabbho mudanuchādana gabbho vā; but

says "I allow you, O Bhikkhus, covered terraces, inner verandahs, and over-hanging eaves"¹. The storeyed buildings (*prāsāda*) are stated to be furnished with "a verandah to it supported on pillars with capitals of elephant head"².

Details of gates, doors and windows are also elaborate. Gateways are built with rooms, and ornamental screen-work over them³. And gates are made of stakes interlaced with thorny brakes⁴.

Doors are furnished with "door posts and lintel, with hollows like a mortar for the door to revolve in, with projections to revolve in those hollows, with rings on the door for the bolt to work along in, with a block of wood fixed in to the edge of the door-post, and containing a cavity for the bolt to go into (called the monkey's head), with a pin to secure the bolt by, with a connecting bolt, with a key-hole, with a hole for a string with which the door may be closed, and with a string for that purpose"⁵. The windows

about the other two terms he is clear; sivikā gabbho ti caturasya gabbho; nālikā gabbho ti vitthārato dviguṇatigunāyāmo digho gabbho (Cullavagga, VI, 3,3). But Oldenberg and Rhys Davids seem to have been wholly misled when they translate these last two by "palankeen shaped and quart measure shaped," about the last of which the Indians of even to-day are quite unfamiliar.

1. Cullavagga, VI, 3, 5. commented by Buddhaghosa: Alindo nāma pamukhaṃ vuccati. (Compare Abhidhānappadīpikā, verse 218). Paghanam nāma yañ nikhamantā ca pavasantā ca pādehi hananti, tassa vihāra-dvāre ubhato kūṭṭaṇi niharitvā katapadesassa etam adhivacanam, paghānan ti pi vuccati. Pakuṭṭana ti majjhe gabbhassa samanta pariyāgāro vuccati pakuṭṭan ti pāṭho. Osarako ti anālindake vamsaṇ datvā tato dandake osāretvā katañ chādanapamukham.

2 Ibid., VI, 14,1 hatthinakhakam supported on the frontal globes (*kumbhe*) of elephants, says Buddhaghosa.

3 Cullavagga, VI, 4,²10; 3, 1; 'tosāṇa' of which excellent examples in stone have been found at the Sāñchi and Bharhut Topes.

4 Ibid., VI, 3, 10.

5 Ibid., VI, 3, 8 also 2, 1 and 17, 1. Compare the distinction between 'kavāṭa' door proper and 'dvāra' door-way or gate-way. The

are stated to be of three kinds according as they are made with railings, lattices, or slips of wood¹. The shutters are adjustable and can be closed or opened whenever required². Five kinds of roofing are mentioned,—brick roofing, stone roofing, cement roofing, straw roofing, and roofing of leaves³. The roof is first covered over with skins and plastered within and without; then follow white wash, blocking, red-colouring, wreath work and creeper work⁴. “The floors were of earth, not of wood, and were restored from time to time by fresh clay or dry cowdung being laid down, and then covered with a white wash, in which sometimes black or red was mixed. From the parallel passage in Mahāvagga (I. 25. 15) and Cullavagga (VIII. 3. 1), it would seem that the red colouring was used rather for walls, and the black one for floors”. It appears, however, that with a

keys are stated to be of three kinds—as they are made of bronze, hard wood, or horn (VI, 2, 1).

1 Cullavagga, VI, 2, 2.—‘Vedikā vātāpanām’ which according to Buddhaghosa means ‘cetiye vedikāsadisam’ of which ‘vedikā’ has been explained by Rhys Davids in his note on Mahā-Sudassana Sutta I, 6Q (see R. D’s Buddhist Suttas, p. 262) ‘jāla vātāpanām nāma jalakevada-ghanām’ of which ‘jāla’ literally means ‘net’ but corresponds to lattice. R. D. advise to compare Anglo Indian jalousie (p. 162). ‘Sālaka vātāpanām nāma thambhaka vātāpanām’ which “possibly means with slips of wood arranged horizontally as in our venetian blinds” (p. 163). In spite of all these the learned orientalists Rhys Davids and Oldenberg would say that “There were, of course, no windows in our modern sense, but only spaces left in the wall to admit light and air, and covered by lattices of three kinds” (note on Ibid, VIII, 2, 2, translation p. 279).

2 Mahāvagga, I, 25, 18; Cullavagga VIII, 2, 2.

3 Cullavagga, VI, 3, 10. Compare also VI, 3, 8; 3, 3 etc.

4 Ibid., V, 11, 6; the rendering of the term ‘ogumpheti’, which also occurs in Mahāvagga V, 11, by ‘skips’ seems doubtful and unsuitable. Buddhaghosa in his note at the latfer place says ‘agumphiyan-titi bhitti dandakādisu vethetvā bandhāti’.

view to removing the dampness¹ gravel was spread over the floor².

There were stairs of three kinds, namely, brick stairs, stone stairs, and wooden stairs. And they were furnished with *ālambana-bāhā* or balustrades³. A more detailed description of flights of stairs (*sopāna*) is given in the Mahā-Sudassana Sutta. "Each of these had a thambhā, evidently posts or banisters; *suciyo*, apparently cross-bars let into these banisters; and *uṇhisam*, either a head-line running along the top of the banisters, or a figure-head at the lower end of such a head-line⁴".

Thus it is clear that very minute details also were mentioned in this literature. The subject, therefore, seems to have been treated more than in a casual manner.

"The entrance to the great houses was through a large gateway. To the right and left of the entrance passage were the treasure and grain stores. The gateway led into an inner courtyard round which were chambers on the ground-floor. And above these chambers was a flat roof called the *upari-pāsāda-tala*, the upper flat surface of the house, where the owner sat, usually under a pavilion, which answered the purpose at once of a drawing-room, an office, and a dining hall."

"In the king's palace there was accommodation also for all the business of the state, and for the numerous retinue and the extensive harem.....The supplementary buildings included three institutions which are strange to us, and of considerable historical interest." 

"We are told several times of a building of seven storeys

1 Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, note on Cullavagga, VI, 20, 2.

2 Compare Cullavagga, V, 14, 5.

3 Cullavagga, V, 11, 6.

4 Mahā-Sudassana Sutta 1, 59. See also R. Davids' Buddhist Suttas, p. 262, and compare Cullavagga, VI, 3, 3.

in height¹." Rhys Davids seems to be of opinion that these buildings must have some connection with the seven-storeyed Ziggurats of Chaldaea. "But in India the use to which such seven-storeyed palaces were put was entirely private, and had nothing to do with any worship of the stars." Still the learned Professor would add that "in this case also the Indians were borrowers of an idea."

"Another sort of building historically interesting were the hot-air baths, described in full in the Vinaya texts². They were built on an elevated basement faced with brick or stone with stone stairs up to it, and a railing round the verandah. The roof and walls were of wood, covered first with skins, and then with plaster; the lower part only of the wall being faced with bricks. There was an ante-chamber, and a hot-room, and a pool to bathe in. Seats were arranged round a fire-place in the middle of the hot room; and to induce perspiration hot water was poured over the bathers....."

In the Dīgha Nikāya³ there is a description of another sort of bath, an open-air bathing tank, with flights of steps leading to it faced entirely of stone, and ornamented both with flowers and carvings."

The Dāgobas or stupas were another class of monuments -

¹ Satta-bhūmaka-pāsāda, Jātaka, I, pp. 227, 346; v, pp. 52, 426; VI, p. 577. R. Davids refers to a building "still standing at Pulasti-pura in Ceylon and the thousand stone pillars on which another was erected at Anurādhapura". Buddhist India, p. 70.

² III, pp. 110, 297. "After the bath there was shampooing, and then a plunge into the pool." "It is very curious to find" observes Rhys Davids "at this very early date in the Ganges valley a sort of bathing so closely resembling our modern so-called 'Turkish bath'." "Did the Turks" he asks "derive this custom from India?" p. 74.

³ Buddhist Suttas, pp. 262 foll. translated by R. Davids, who refers to "several ancient baths still to be seen at Anurādhapura in a fair state of preservation in spite of the more than two thousand years that have elapsed since they were first constructed", p. 76.

erected in the cemeteries¹. They were pre-Buddhistic in origin² but became very prominent after Buddha. The priestly records, however, ignore these topes, because they were erected "more especially by those who had thrown off their allegiance to the priests, and were desirous to honour the memory of their teachers, who were leaders of thought, or reformers, or philosophers."

"The first step was probably merely to build the cairn more carefully than usual with stones and to cover the outside with fine *cunnam* plaster to give a marble-like surface. The next step was to build the cairn of concentric layers of the huge bricks in use at the time, and to surround the whole with a wooden railing."

"Even in Buddha's time the size of these monuments had already reached very considerable dimensions. The solid dome erected by the Sākiyas over their share of the ashes from Buddha's funeral pyre must have been about the same height as the dome of the St. Paul measured from the roof"³.

In the books referring to the earlier Buddhist period stone seems to have been used only for pillars, walls, and stair-cases. A palace of stone is once mentioned in a fairy land⁴. According to Rhys Davids, "the superstructure, at least, of all dwellings was either of woodwork or brickwork. In either case it was often covered, both internally and externally, with

¹ Vinaya texts, IV, p. 308.

² Cf. White Yajurveda, chap. 35 and Writer's Dictionary.

³ R. Davids, pp. 83-4. The reference to a large number of topes will be found in the Writer's Dictionary under *stūpa*. Buddhaghosa's enumeration of the parts of a palace also shows the popularity of the subject of architecture in Buddhist literature. "Ayam phasso nāma yathā pāsādaṃ patvā thambho nāma, sesadabbasambhārānam balavapaccayo tulāsamghāṭabhittipādakuṭagopānasipakkhapāsamukhavaṭṭīyo thambhe baddhā thambhe patiṭṭhitā evam eva sahajātasampa-yuttadhamānam balavapaccayo hoti". Atthasālinī, p. 107.

Jāt., VI, p. 269.

fine *cunnam* plaster-works, and brilliantly painted in fresco, with figures or patterns", four of which have been preserved, namely, wreath-work, creeper-work, fine-ribbon-work and dragon's tooth-work¹. When the figures predominated the result is often called a picture-gallery (*cittāgāra*)².

The articles of furniture which form an important part of the architectural treatises are also elaborately described in the Buddhist literature. "Benches were made long enough to accommodate three persons"³. The bedstead (*pallanka*) or divan was a separate piece of furniture⁴. Large couches (*āsandi*) or chairs seem to have been some important articles of furniture⁵. Couches covered with canopies are also mentioned⁶. Mention is made of a large variety of chairs—rectangular chair (*āsandaka*), arm-chair, sofa (*sattāngō*), sofa with arms to it, state-chair (*bhadda-pītham*), cushioned chair (*pīthikā*), chair raised on a pedestal (*elaka-padaka pītham*), chair with many legs (*āmalaka-vanṭika-pītham*), leaning board (*phalakam*), cane-bottomed chair (*koccham*) and straw-bottomed chair⁷. Mention is also made of the litter or sedan-chair⁸.

Valuable carpets, rugs, pillows, curtains, and such other luxurious decorations also are elaborately described. Thus

1 Vinaya texts, II, p. 67 ; IV, p. 47.

2 R. Davids, p. 68.

3 Cullavagga, VI, 13, 2.

4 Cullavagga, VI, 141 ; VI, 8, 1 etc. Mahāvagga, V, 10, 3.

5 Ibid., VI, 14, 1 ; VI, 8, 1 etc. Mahāvagga, V, 10, 3. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg render *āsandi* twice by cushions and once by couches and Childers by chairs in his Dictionary. It seems to imply Sanskrit 'āsana' which means 'seat'.

6 Mahāvagga, V, 10, 3.

7 Cullavagga, VI, 2, 4. Renderings are mostly those made by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg depending on Buddhaghosa's note. Compare also Cullavagga, VI, 20, 2 and VIII, 1, 3. Apaśena-phalakam as a "board to lean against" is also mentioned in the Mahāvagga I, 25, 15, 16. For arm-chair and sofa there seems to be another expression *apasyam* ; see Buddhaghosa's note on Cullavagga, VI, 2, 4.

8 Mahāvagga, V, 10, 2.

mention is made of "coverlets with long fleece, counterpanes of many colours, woollen coverlets white or marked with thick flowers, mattresses, cotton coverlets dyed with figures of animals, rugs with long hair on one or both sides, carpet inwrought with gold or with silk, large woollen carpets such as the nautch (dancing) girls dance upon, rich elephant housings, horse rugs or carriage rugs, panther or antelope skins, large cushions and crimson cushions¹". Pillows are of various kinds. Pillows are stated to be of both "the size of a man's head" and half "the size of a man's body." The Buddha allows the bhikkhus "to comb out the cotton, and make the cotton up into pillows if it be of any of these three kinds—cotton produced on trees, cotton produced on creepers, and cotton produced from potaki-grass²." The bolsters made for the use of high officials were of five kinds as they were stuffed with wool, cotton cloth, bark, grass or leaves. There were also coverlets for them³. The smaller articles like the floor cloth, mosquito curtain, handkerchief and spittoon did not escape the notice of the then house-decorators⁴.

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1 Mahāvagga, V, 10, 3.

2 Cullavagga, VI, 2, 6; see also IV, 44 and VIII, 1, 3.

3 Ibid., VI, 27, 1.

4 Ibid., VI, 20, 1; V, 14, 1; Mahāvagga, VII, 18 for colaka or handkerchief; see also Cullavagga, VI, 19; V, 9, 4.

Message from Barhut Jātaka Labels

There are some thirty-two surviving labels attached to various carvings illustrating anecdotes from the previous Bodhisattva-career of the supreme Master. Each scene represents either a complete Birth-story, or a single incident relating to a particular birth, or a number of episodes. The following labels, attached to some of these scenes, name the Birth-stories after the Bodhisattva :—

Maghādeviya-Jātaka.

Isimiga-Jātaka.

(Bhojājā)nīya-Jātaka.

Hamsa-Jātaka.

Nāga-Jātaka.

Sujāta-gohuta-Jātaka.

Latuvā-Jātaka.

Miga-Jātaka.

Chadamtiya-Jātaka.

Isisimgiya-Jātaka.

Mugapakaya-Jātaka.

Some of the scenes bear labels containing the names of the principal actors in the whole birth-story or in a particular episode. The following labels will illustrate the point :—

Asadā vadhu susāne sigālā ūnati.

“The young woman, jackals on the funeral ground and kinsman”.

Kāndari-Ki(narā)

“The episode of Kāndarī and Kinnarā”.

Bidala-Jātaka Kukuṭa-Jātaka.

“The Jātaka-episode of the Cat and the Cock”.

Ud-Jātaka.

“The Jātaka-episode of otters”.

Vijapi-Vijādharo.

“The spell-muttering Vidyādhara in a Jātaka-scene”.

Kimnara-Jātaka.

"The Jātaka-scene of Kinnaras".

Usukāro Janako rājā Sivalā devi.

"The arrow-maker, King Janaka and Queen Sivalī in a Jātaka-scene".

Vitura-Punakiya-Jātaka.

"The Jātaka-episode about Vidūra and Pūrṇaka".

In one of the labels, the name of the Birth-story contains the opening words of the moral verse :—

Yāñ-brahmaṇa-avayesi-Jātaka.

"The birth-story with the verse: When the Brahmin played, etc".

Some of the labels describe main actions in the scenes:

Secha-Jātaka.

"The drawing of water in a Jātaka-scene".

Dighatapasi sise anusāsati.

"The venerable ascetic teacher instructs his pupils".

Bhisaharaniya-Jātaka.

"About the stealing of lotus-fibres in a Jātaka-scene".

Vaḍuko katha dohati Nādode pavate.

"Vaḍuka extracts the juicy balm on Mt. Nārada".

Dusito giri dadati tina.

"The corrupted hill offers grass".

A few labels characterise the scenes by some external associations :—

Miga-samadakam cetaya.

"A woodland shrine in an animal feeding-ground".

Dada-nikamo cakamo.

"The walk wherefrom escape is difficult".

Citupāda-sila.

"The gambler fond of square-board game."

Abode cātiyam.

"At the watery lake."

Tikotiko cākamo.

"The triangular enclosure".

Jabū Nādode pavate.

"The rose-apple trees on Mt. Nārada."

These labels or indexes constitute a distinctive feature of the Jātaka-illustrations at Barhut. Similar carvings at Bodh-Gayā, Sanchi, Sarnath, Amarāvati, Taxila and Ajantā do not bear such labels or headings. But you may be pleased to hear that this custom of indexing the artistic illustrations by means of inscriptions survives or is continued in Burma. If you try to reach the Shwe Dagon Pagoda by its south gate, you are sure to come across on your way, in two gate-chambers, two groups of carvings with descriptive labels, legibly and separately written in Burmese below each individual scene. The same holds true of numerous Jātaka-carvings adoring different Pagodas at Pagan. So far as the Barhut labels and scenes go, these enable one to detect instances where the label bears the name of the entire Birth-story, while the carving actually depicts a particular episode of it. Consider, for instance, the carving depicting a scene of the birth of Isisimga or Rṣyaśṛṅga from a doe, which is but an introductory episode of the Isisimgiya-Jātaka, as it is entitled in the label. In all later Buddhist narrations, whether in Pāli or in Sanskrit, one is sure to come across instead of one, two separate Jātakas, viz., Alambusā and Nalinikā. These two Jātakas, as can be ascertained from the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata version of the story of Rṣyaśṛṅga, originally two component parts of one and the same story. Their separation cannot be explained otherwise than by the intervention of an artistic version such as that at Barhut. In Fausböll's edition of the second Jātaka-Commentary, the story of Kandari-Kinnarā is introduced as a distinct Birth-story and as an interlude in another Jātaka, namely, the Tesakuṇa. The evidence of our railing-carving leaves one in the dark as to the actual position of this story in the Jātaka-collection, then known. But these two instances certainly enable you to understand the processes of multiplication of the number of Jātakas. If two component parts of the Rṣyaśṛṅga-story be joined together, they must be counted as one Jātaka, and if separated, they must

be counted as two Jātakas. Similarly if the story of Kāñdari-Kinnarā be taken independently, it must be counted as one Jātaka, and if as an interlude of another Jātaka, its individuality vanishes altogether, which means a reduction of the total number of Jātakas. There was a stage in the development of Jātakas when their total number was counted as 500. This continued to be so till the Chinese traveller Fa-Hian visited Ceylon in the early part of the 5th Century A. D. From the time of Buddhaghosa the Jātaka-total has been counted as 550. The processes indicated above clearly explain the multiplication and its mechanical character. This is not all. There is one carving illustrating Mahauṣadha's power of judgment displayed at the market-town Yavamadhyaka. The annexed heading Yavamajhakiya-Jātaka leads one to treat the scene as the illustration of a complete Birth-story. But in the existing Commentary version, the story of Mahauṣadha's feats of wisdom at Yavamadhyaka is just one of the many episodes composing the narrative of the Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka, entitled Mahosadha-Jātaka in the Talaing heading at Pagan. Judging by the evidence of our railing, it will be too bold to presume the Commentary-story, as we now have it, was then known. The label and the carving at Barhut rather suggest an earlier and much shorter form of the Birth-story only dilating upon Mahauṣadha's power of judgment. The list of illustrated scenes from Buddha's life, so far as this can be identified partly with the aid of the labels, betrays a definite and comprehensive scheme, comprising selected stories of the present and those of the past, and preventing reduplication. It was not possible for persons other than the Buddhists, intimately acquainted with traditions and religious needs, to scheme out the plan. Though now too late and the harm has already been done, one must always regret to be confronted with an irregular order of the carvings due, no doubt, to the lack of supervision on the part of the superintending monks and the ignorance and haste of the sculptors and craftsmen. It is also due, as one can imagine, to the insis-

tence of the donors to place their gifts first with carvings of their liking. Though there was a ready-made plan, it was worked out gradually, according to opportunities. The result is in a sense fatal. In one case, the same scene, namely, that of Buddha's demise has been reproduced twice. In two other cases, two scenes have been huddled together, viz., (1) the scene of the Mahāpadāna discourse and that of Śākyamuni's enlightenment ; (2) the scene of the first sermon near Benares and that of King Prasenajit's interview with the Master. In a third case, one finds that two connected scenes of the Mātiposaka-Jātaka have been set wide apart instead of being placed consecutively, in order. In the fourth instance, the artists have placed four connected scenes of the same story in four consecutive panels of the coping without the regular intervening of ornamental designs. Upon the whole, the topsy-turvy order of the scenes baffles all attempts, without an external aid, to determine the traditional succession of the episodes presupposed by them. The baneful effect of this is marked in the Mahāvastu story of Buddha. The most instructive point in the list is that it includes legends and stories, most of which agree with those in Pāli, where there are some that can be traced only in the Lalita-Vistara and not elsewhere, some that can be traced only in the Avadāna-Śataka and not elsewhere, some that can be traced in the Divyāvadāna and the Avadānakalpalatā and not elsewhere, some that are peculiar to the Barhut scheme, and some that are common to all traditions. This fact also points to a distinct Buddhist source, having some points of contact or similarity with all other Buddhist traditions of the time.

B. M. BARUA

Identification of the princes and territories mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta

During my class work with the M. A. students of the Calcutta University, I had more than one occasion to lecture on the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The most important portion of this epigraph consists of the names of the various princes with whom he fought or entered into alliance. The late Mr. V. A. Smith was the first to make a systematic attempt to identify them ; and his paper, published in *JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 87 ff., may still be read with profit by the students of ancient Indian history. In later times, M. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil made a similar attempt in his *Ancient History of the Deccan*, but he did not go beyond the identification of the kings of the south (*Dakṣināpatha*). He was followed by Dr. H. Raychaudhuri, who took us one step forward by identifying more kings and locating their kingdoms in his *Political History of Ancient India*. Stray attempts have been made by other scholars also, perhaps the most important of whom is Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who read a small paper on it before the first Oriental Conference in 1919. For my lectures to the M. A. classes on this lithic record I had to draw up some brief notes for the guidance of the students. As some of these are not altogether devoid of originality and are likely to be interesting to scholars, I have been asked to publish them ; and it is these that are being published here in the shape of a small paper. Nothing will give me greater pleasure, if this paper of mine is found to stimulate other scholars ; especially the young scholars of Bengal, to make further research in this field and settle beyond all doubt the identification of these kings and their territories.

L. 17 *Parākrāmāñkasya* : "Of (one) designated Parā-

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krama." Parākrama was a title of Samudragupta just as Vikrama was of his son Candragupta. The title Parākrama is met with on his coins of the Standard Type (Allan, pp. 2ff). He was also designated Vyāghra-parākrama, and Aśvamedha-parākrama, just as his son was Simha-vikrama and Ajita-vikrama.

• Lines 19-20 specify the names of the kings of Dakṣinā-patha whom he vanquished but re-instated. They are as follows :—

1. Mahendra of Kośala. This Kośala must be Dakṣina or South Kośala, one of whose early capitals was Śrīpura, i. e. Sirpur in C. P. It was from this place that Tīvara-deva, who styled himself 'Supreme Lord of Kośala', issued a charter of circa 800 A. D. (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 296). The province therefore embraced the eastern and southern parts of the C. P. Nothing is known about Mahendra.

2. Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra. Mahākāntāra has to be distinguished from Sarvāṭavī referred to (l. 21) later in the inscription. Vyāghrarāja is almost certainly identical with Vyāghra, father of Jayanātha, of the Uccakalpa dynasty. The date for the latter is 174 (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 199), which, when referred to the Kalachuri era (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, pp. 227, f.) as is the case with the dates of the Uccakalpa family, gives us the English equivalent 423 A. D. Jayanātha thus becomes a contemporary of Candragupta II. Jayanātha's father, Vyāghra, thus becomes a contemporary of Candragupta II's father, Samudragupta. He was doubtless a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka king, Prthivisena, and his principality consisted of parts of the Jaso and Ajaigarh States in Bundelkhand, as appears from the find-spots of his records (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 234, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, p. 13).

3. Maṇtarāja of Kurāla. This Kurāla is taken by Kielhorn to be the same as Kunāla, mentioned in the Aihoie inscription, as having been reduced by Pulakesin II of the Calukya family (*Ep. Ind.*, VI. p. 3 & n. 3). And both have been identified by him with the well-known Kolleru lake between the Godāvari

and Kṛṣṇā. This does not, however, appear to be probable as the Kolleru Lake must have been included in the kingdom of Vengi mentioned below. Kaurālaka is perhaps a mistake for Kairalaka, as Fleet suggests. In that case, this Kerala may be the province round about Yayātinagara where the author of the *Pavanadūta* locates the Keralas. Kerala may thus be the Sonpur territory in C. P. (*Āśoka*, p. 41). Dr. Barnett, however, identifies it with Korada (*Bull. School. Or. Stud.*, II, iii, p. 569). Nothing is known about Maṇtarāja.

There is some confusion about the division of the words that follow the name of Maṇtarāja. Fleet separates them as *Paiṣṭapuraka*-Mahendra and *Giri-Kauṭṭuraka*-*Svāmidatta* and translates "Mahendra of Piṣṭapura, Svāmidatta of Koṭṭura on the hill". Fleet does so, because he thinks that Mahendragiri cannot be the name of a ruling chief as names ending in *giri* are now-a-days restricted to Gosains. But this proposal is inadmissible. The *vrddhi* in *Kauṭṭuraka* clearly shows that the word *giri* preceding it is to be connected with Mahendra. If *giri* had really formed part of the name of the country whose ruler *Svāmidatta* was, we should have had *Gairikauṭṭuraka* instead of *Girikauṭṭuraka*. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Bomb. Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 63) separates the words as follows *Paiṣṭapuraka*, *Mahendragirika*, *Auṭṭuraka* and *Svāmidatta*. *Svāmidatta* was thus the ruler of Piṣṭapura, Mahendragiri and Auṭṭura. This also is inadmissible, because Mahendragiri is the name of a mountain range, and not of a country. Again, we should have had *Māhendragirika* instead of *Mahendragirika*. The best proposal for the separation of words is that made by V. A. Smith who divides the words as *Paiṣṭapuraka*-*Mahendragiri* and *Kauṭṭuraka*-*Svāmidatta*.

4. Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura. Piṣṭapura is the same as the fortress of Piṣṭapura captured by the Calukya king Pulakesin II, and is the modern Piṭhāpuram in the Godāvarī District of the Madras Presidency (*EI*, VI, 2-3). No record of Mahendragiri has been found.

5. Svāmidatta of Kottūra, as Dr. Fleet says, is a very common Dravidian place name. He however identifies Kottūra of the inscription with Kottur = Pollāci in the Coimbatore District, where some ancient remains exist. The Coimbatore District also was noted for its commercial intercourse with the Roman merchants. M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, takes it to be Kothoor in the Ganjam District.

6. Damana of Eranḍapalla. Fleet identifies Eranḍapalla with Eranḍol, the chief town of a subdivision of the same name in the Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency (*JRAS*, 1898, pp. 369-70). According to M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, it is the same as the town Eranḍapali probably near Chicacole on the coast of Orissa mentioned in the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 212).

7. Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī. Kāñcī is undoubtedly the modern Conjeeveram in the Chingleput District, Madras Presidency. And Viṣṇugopa is no doubt identical with an early Pallava king of that name (*Bomb. Gazet.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 321).

8. Nilarāja of Avamukta. Nothing is known about either.

9. Hastivarman of Veṅgi. "Veṅgi was a country on the east coast, of which the original boundaries appear to have been towards the west, the Eastern Ghats, and, on the north and south, the rivers Godāvarī and Krṣṇā; an indication of the position of its original capital is probably preserved in the name of Vegi or Pedda-Vāgi, a village in the Ellore tālukā of the Godāvarī District" (*Bomb. Gazet.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 280). Hastivarman has been identified by Hultzsch with Attivarman of the family of king Kandara, who also belonged to the Pallava race.

10. Ugrasena of Pālakka. Pālakka kingdom has been identified by Smith (*JRAS*, 1917, p. 873) with the division of Pālghāṭ or Pālakkāḍu in the south of the Malabar District. M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, identifies Pālakka with a capital of the same name which was situated to the south of the

Kṛṣṇā and which is mentioned in many Pallava copper-plates (Venkayya's *Annual Report*, 1904-5, p. 47).

11. Kubera of Devarāṣṭra. Smith takes Devarāṣṭra to be identical with Mahārāṣṭra. But this is not correct. It must be identified with the province of Devarāṣṭra (= Yellamanchili tract) mentioned in a copper-plate grant found in the District of Vizagapatam (*Arch. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 123). Was Kubera father of Kubera-Nāgā of the Nāga family, who was a queen of Candragupta II? (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 41).

12. Dhananjaya of Kusthalapura. Kusthalapura is taken by Smith as a mistake for Kuśasthalapur, a name of the holy city of Dwarka. Kuśasthala was the capital of Ānarta, i. e. Kāthiāwār. This does not, however, seem likely. Dr. Barnett opines that it is probably Kuttalur, near Polur, in North Arcot (*Cal. Review*, Feb. 1924, p. 253, n.).

The kings of Āryāvarta destroyed by Samudragupta are nine in number, and it has been suggested by Rapson that possibly, they may all have been Nāgas and denote the *Navā Nāgāḥ* of the *Viśnu-P.*, not as a dynasty of nine members as they are generally taken to be, but rather a confederation of nine princes belonging to the Nāga race (*JRAS.*, 1897, p. 421).

1. Rudradeva. Mr. Dikshit identifies him with Rudrasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. This seems improbable, as the Vākāṭakas belonged to Dakṣināpatha, and not Āryāvarta.

2. Matila. It has been suggested that Matila may be identical with the Mattila of the seal found in Bulandshahr, but the absence of any honorific on the latter suggests that it is a private seal and not one of a royal personage"—Allan, p. xxiii.

3. Nāgadatta. Unidentified.

4. Candravarman. Smith (*JRAS.*, 1897, p. 876) at first correctly proposed that this Candravarman was the Mahārāja of that name whose name is preserved in a rock inscription at Susunia in the Bankura District of Bengal (*Ep.*

Ind., XIII, 133). Candravarman is therein called 'lord of Puṣkaraṇa'. He, however, gave up this view (*E. H. I.*, 3rd ed., p. 290, n. 1) and maintained with Mm. H. P. Sastri that the Puṣkarṇa of the Susunia record, was the same as Pokarnā in Marwar and that Candravarman was identical with the sovereign king Candra of the Meherauli Pillar Inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 217 & ff.). This does not, however, seem correct. Because the title borne by an overlord of this period was *Mahārājādhīrāja*, whereas Candravarman like his father was merely a *Mahārāja*. Mm. Sastri maintains that Simhavarman was a chieftain but that his son Candravarman a supreme ruler, although both are designated *Mahārājas*. This is impossible, and what appears to be the fact is that both father and son were feudatory chieftains. Besides, Puṣkaraṇa of the Susunia inscription can easily run into *Bakkurām* and seems to have survived in the modern Bankura. It is therefore more correct to say that this Candravarman was a chief of Bankura and was identical with Candravarman, comtemporary of Samudragupta.

5. Gaṇapati Nāga. He is no doubt the same as Gaṇapati of the Nāga family whose coins have been found at Narwar and Besnagar. He is generally supposed to pertain to the Nāga family of Padmāvatī or Pawāyā in the Gwalior territory (*Smith's Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 164 & 178-9), but as Nāgasena below, also, belonged to the same family, as we know from the *Harṣa-carita*, it is safer to take Gaṇapati as a king of perhaps Vidisā House, whose existence is attested by the Purāṇas.

6. Nāgasena. Hall [*Viṣṇu P.*, (ed. Wilson), vol. IV, p. 217 fn.] was the first to draw our attention in this connection to a passage in the *Harṣa-carita* (trans., Cowell & Thomas, p. 192), which says that there was one Nāgasena¹

¹ In their translation Cowell and Thomas say that Nāgasena was an "heir to the nāga house", but this is not warranted by the text.

in Padmāvatī belonging to the Nāga House, whose fall was caused by the disclosure of his policy by a *sārikā* bird.

7. Acyuta. Some copper and bronze coins, bearing the syllables *a-cyu* and found in the Barelli District of U. P., were first attributed by Smith and Rapson to the king Acyuta of this inscription (*JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 28 & 420). In their general character they resemble the coins of the Nāga kings of Padmāvatī, and it is possible that Acyuta may himself have been a Nāga but belonging to the Nāga House of Mathurā, which the Purāṇas mention side by side with that of Padmāvatī.

8. Nandin. Nothing is known.

9. Balavarman. According to Mr. Dikshit, he is most probably identical with Balavarman, an ancestor of Bhāskaravarman of Assam (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, pp. 73-6). But Assam or Kāmarūpa has been separated from Āryāvarta by this epigraph. Hence Balavarman of Āryāvarta cannot be a ruler of Kāmarūpa.

10. Āṭavika-rāja. One copper-plate (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 114) describes a Parivrājaka king, Hastin, as master of the Dabhāla kingdom which was included in the Eighteen Forest Kingdoms (*Āṭavirājya*). Dabhāla must be the older form of Dahālā, the modern Bundelkhand. The Āṭavī country, which comprised no less than eighteen kingdoms, must have extended from Baghelkhand right up almost to the sea-coast of Orissa (*Asoka*, pp. 43-5).

The frontier kings, tribes and territories were as follows :—

1. Samataṭa. Varāhamihira places Samatata in the Eastern Division, and Hiuen Tsiang, to the east of the Tāmralipti country and bordering on the sea. It is taken as comprising the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, of which the Jessor District forms the central portion. Its capital Karmrānta has been identified with Kāmtā in the Comilla District by Mr. N. Bhattachari (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, 1914, pp. 85ff.).

2. Davāka. Fleet suggests that Davāka may be another

form of Dacca. According to Smith it corresponded to the modern districts of Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi. But it appears from the Damodarpur copper-plates (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 113 ff.) that Pundravardhana country or Varendra was actually incorporated with the Gupta dominions and not held by any feudatory. Davāka more probably corresponds to the Hill Tracts of Chittagong and Tiperrah.

3. Kāmarūpa. It corresponds in the main to the modern Assam, the central portion of which is still known as Kāmrūp.

4. Nepāla. Well-known.

5. Kartṛpura. Dr. Fleet suggests that the name may survive in Kartārpur in the Jālandhar district. Brigade Surgeon C. F. Oldham refers to the Katuria Rāj of Kumāon, Garhwāl and Rohilkhand (*JRAS.*, 1898, p. 198).

6. Mālavas. They were originally the same as the Malloi of the Greek writers and the Malayas, the Mleccha people, who, according to the *Mudrārāksasa* fought against the Maurya Candragupta. They appear to have migrated southwards afterwards, and were in occupation of a province called Vagarchāl in the south-eastern portion of the Jaipur State, where their coins were found in numbers. As these coins range approximately from B. C. 150 to 250 A. D., they seem to have been settled in that province during that period (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 12-3). In the Gupta period, however, they seem to have migrated still farther southward. This is indicated by the find-spots of the inscriptions of the period. At this time, they appear to have occupied Mewār and Kotāh of south-eastern Rajputana and the parts of Central India adjoining them (*Ind. Ant.*, 1891, p. 404).

7. Arjunāyanas. Their coins are by no means unknown but as their provenance has not been notified, it is difficult to locate them exactly. They are believed to have been settled between the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas. They may have thus occupied the eastern part of the Jaipur and the Alwar State.

8. Yaudheyas. From the find-spots of their coins, seals and inscriptions, they have been located between the Sutlej and the Jumna, their political rule extending as far southward as and including the Bharatpur State (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 165-7; 1918, pp. 11-2; *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 252).

9. Madrakas. Their country corresponds roughly to modern Sialkot and surrounding regions between the Ravi and Chenab rivers. Its capital was Śākala which has been identified with Sialkot. (For an illuminating paper on *Madra* by H. C. Ray, see *JASB.*, 1922, p. 257 & ff.). The Madrakas were originally known as Madras and denoted, a people, and not a tribe as seems to be the case here. The latter were probably the Jartikas or Jāts who are described as Mlecchas in the *Karṇa-Parva* (Chs. xl & xliv) of the *Mahābhārata*.

10. Ābhīras. They seem to have been correctly located by Smith in the province of Ahirwāḍā between the Pārvatī and the Betwā in Central India.

11. Prārjunas. Smith locates them in the Narsinghpur District of C. P. It is safer to put them somewhere near Narsingharh in C. I., as the identification of Sanakānīka will show.

12. Sanakānīkas. A Chief of the Sanakānīka tribe or family has been mentioned as a feudatory of Candragupta II in an Udayagiri cave inscription near Besnagar, the old Vidiśā. The inscription gives three generations of this family, who were all Mahārājas or Chiefs. The Sanakānīkas, therefore, appear to have held the province of Vidiśā. The first of these Sanakānīkas was known as Chagalaga, which looks like a foreign name.

13. Kāla. Nothing known.

14. Kharaparika. Probably identical with Kharpara mentioned in the Baṭihāgarh Inscription of the Damoh Dist., C. P. (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 46, v. 5). Kharparas according to this record are evidently to be located in that district.

Daivaputra-shāhi-shāhānushāhi. I take this to be one single compound title, designating some Later Great Kushana king. Fleet, Smith and Allan spilt it up into three different titles denoting three different princes. It is, however, forgotten that the initial word is not *Devaputra* but *Daivaputra*, a *taddhita* form, which shows that the term cannot stand by itself but must be taken along with what follows (*JBBRAS.*, vol. XX, p. 299, n. 78). If this is a correct view, *Daivaputra* had better be taken along not only with *Shāhi* but also *Shāhānushāhi*, so as to make the whole correspondent with the full royal insignia *Devaputra Mahārāja Rājātirāja*, not only of the eastern Imperial Kushana family but also of the Later Great Kushanas, or *Kuṣāṇaputras* as they called themselves. Thus in an inscription found near Mathura (*Arch. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, 1911-12, p. 124), the *Kuṣāṇaputra* king therein referred to bears the titles *Mahārāja rājātirāja Devaputra*. They exercised sway not only over the Kabul Valley but also over the Punjab and the Mathura regions, and it is quite possible that some of the frontier tribes mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription owed allegiance as much to the *Kuṣāṇaputras* as to the Guptas.

It is no use relying upon a vague Chinese authority and saying that *Devaputra* denoted a king of India or rather the Panjab. There is neither an inscription nor a coin to show that there was any king who adopted the single title of *Devaputra* without the addition of *Shāhi* and *Shāhānushāhi* or their Indian equivalents. Of course, the *Kidāra* Kushanas did assume the title *Shāhi*, but they flourished later than the period of Samudragupta. And as regards *Shāhānushāhi* there is no evidence to prove that the title was borne in or near India by any kings other than those of the Kushana families. Between the *Kidāra* Kushanas and the earlier Imperial Kushanas flourished the Later Great Kushanas as they have been styled by numismatists, who as just pointed out seem to be no other than the *Kuṣāṇaputras* of the inscriptions.

Saka. This racial name *Saka* has been taken to refer to the Western Kṣatrapas of Kāthiāwād and Malwa. But there is nothing to show that the last Kṣatrapas of this dynasty ruled over Malwa at all. On the other hand, Sir John Marshall has recently found an inscription at Sāñci (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVI, p. 232; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, 1923, p. 337 & ff.) which refers itself to the victorious reign of a Śaka ruler called Śridharavarman though he has been designated merely *Mahā-Dandanāyaka*. It bears the date 241, which if referred to the Śaka era gives 319 A. D. as its equivalent. It is possible that this Śridharavarman or his successor is the Śaka king referred to in Samudragupta's inscription.

According to Allan (p. xxviii), the name Śaka is intended to designate particularly "those Śakas in the north who issued the coins of Kushan type with ARDOXPO reverse, which formed the prototypes of Samudragupta's coinage." As a matter of fact, however, what occurs on these coins is not Śaka but Śāka (Smith, pp. 92-3), and further it is not possible to say that Śāka is the name of any race or tribe.

Muruṇḍa. On the strength of the evidence collected by Sylvain Lévi from Brahmanic, Jaina, and Chinese sources, Allan concludes that the Muruṇḍas were of foreign origin and had a powerful kingdom in the greater part of the Ganges Valley in the early centuries of the Christian era (p. xxix). Sten Konow goes one step further, and says that these Muruṇḍas "were in reality the Kushanas, and the word *Muruṇḍa* itself is not the name of a tribe, but a Śaka word meaning 'lord', which was used as a title by the Śakas and after them by the Kushanas." (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, pp. 292-3).

Simhala. An account of the embassy of this Ceylon king has been preserved by the Chinese authorities which say that he "sent gifts to Samudragupta with a request to be allowed to build a monastery at Bodh Gaya for the convenience of pilgrims from Ceylon." This request, we are told, was duly granted.

D. R. Bhandarkar

Subandhu, an ancient writer on Dramaturgy

The hemistich¹ in Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkārasūtras quoted to illustrate Ojas had been until recently taken to refer to the Gupta kings Candragupta and his son Samudragupta and to the famous Buddhist divine Vasubandhu. It has been proved in an article entitled 'Subandhu or Vasubandhu,'² a glimpse into the literary history of the Maurya period' that the passage in the Kāvyālaṅkāra does not refer to the Gupta period or to Vasubandhu. It should have been taken from the introduction, Prastāvanā of a now-forgotten early drama Vāsavadattā-Nātyadhārā by Subandhu, a poet who lived in the Court of the Maurya sovereign Bindusāra, the son and successor of Candragupta and who also served him as Minister. A reference to him in the Avantisundarikathā seems to say that Subandhu was at first imprisoned by Bindusāra, and later on released after his binding to himself his sovereign's heart by writing the story of Vatsarāja. Several extracts from this Vāsavadatta have been traced in the famous Commentary on Bharata's Nātyasāstra by Abhinavagupta. From all these it is proved that even so early as the period of the Maurya Emperors Candragupta and Bindusāra, Sanskrit drama was in a very highly developed stage and ministers were engaged not only in writing dramas but also in taking part in their representation.

This early Subandhu, the Minister of Bindusāra, is proved to be different from his namesake, the author of the extant

¹ Sāciprāyatvam yathā,—

so'yam samprati Candragupta tanayaś candraprakāśo yuvā,
jāto bhūpatirāśrayah kṛtadhiyām diṣṭyā kṛtārthaśramah.
āśrayah kṛtadhiyām ityasya ca Subandhusācivyopakṣepaparatayā
sāciprāyatvam.

² Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference 1922, Calcutta, reprinted with additions and texts in the Indian Antiquary, 1924.

prose romance of that name, which appears to have been written during the period of the decline of the Gupta Empire. Sanskrit literature recently unearthed contains some more references to an author called Subandhu which are brought before scholars here. The author that has these references is Śāradātanaya, the author of *Bhāvaprakāśa*, a work of Sanskrit rhetoric and dramaturgy, written about the 12th or the 13th century. The particular reference is here given. It occurs in the eighth adhikāra of the work. It says that Subandhu enumerates 5 kinds (Jātis) of Nāṭakas, Pūrṇa, Praśānta, Bhāsvara, Lalita, and Samagra, defines their qualities, and gives examples of each of them. He gives the name Kṛtyārāvaṇa, as that of a Pūrṇa Nāṭaka. He then defines a Praśānta Nāṭaka and says that a drama called Svapnavāsa-vadatta is an example of this and also lets us a little into the story and plot of this early drama. He then passes on to the third variety of Nāṭaka called Bhāsvara and gives its five sandhis. He refers to a drama in which Mārīcha and Rāvaṇa are characters, and another in which Candragupta and Nanda are characters. The crossing of the sea by the monkey heroes, the binding of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa by the Nāgapāśa and the testing (parikṣā) of Sītā are also referred to. The title of this latter drama is not given. A drama called Kṛtyārāvaṇa is referred to in several early works on Dramaturgy. It cannot be said whether the present is also another reference to this early drama. The next variety is called Lalita. In giving examples of this variety of drama he refers to Vikramorvaśi, a drama in which Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā are characters and where their separation is dealt with, and another which deals with Śarmiṣṭhā and Vṛṣaparvan. He then deals with his fifth variety of drama called Samagra and gives the Mahānāṭaka as an example.

From the nature of the information given in the *Bhāvaprakāśa*¹ (adhikāra viii) of Śāradātanaya the date of Subandhu,

¹ The manuscript is deposited in the Government Oriental Manus-

the author of this *Nāṭaka-lakṣmana*, cannot be decided. Of the dramas enumerated as examples of the several varieties of *Nāṭaka* according to the classification contained in the *Bhāvaprakāśa* only *Vikramorvaśi* seems to be available completely. The *Svapnavāsavadatta* seems to refer to the drama published under that name in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. But the variations between the description of the dramas as given in the *Bhāvaprakāśa* and the Trivandrum play seem to demonstrate that the Trivandrum drama is not not the whole of it but only an abridgment of it. The original drama might have been the work of Bhāsa, but the abridgment is decidedly later¹. The dramas published at Trivandrum under the name of Bhāsa cannot all of them belong to him. The *Svapnavāsavadatta* appears to be an abridgment of Bhāsa's drama, just as the *Daridracārudatta* of Śūdraka's (i. e. *Vikramāditya*'s²) autobiographical drama *Mṛcchkaṭika*. Other dramas published under the authorship of Bhāsa appear similarly to be abridgments of other dramas. The occurrence of the term *Rājasimha* at the end of several of these seems to point that these dramas were abridged in the Court of a king called *Rājasimha*. Several dramas like the *Mattavilāsa*³ produced in the Pallava Court

cripts Library, Madras. It is learnt that this valuable work will soon be published by His Holiness Śrīyatirāja of Melkote (formerly Śrīman A. Anantacarya of the Mysore Archaeological department), who is also publishing the famous work on Rhetoric "Śrūgaraprakāśa of Bhoja", the first portion of which will appear shortly.

1 The present writer has discussed this in an article entitled 'The age of Bhāravi and Dandin, the literary history of the Pallava period'; Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, Vol. XIII, pp. 670-688.

2 The present writer has discussed about the identity in the article 'The founder of the Vikrama Era. An interregnum in the history of the Andhra period.' Myth. Soc. Jour., Vol. XII, pp. 268-282; Vol. XIII, pp. 506-510.

3 The early Sanskrit 'prahasana Bhagavadajjukam' which was recently published by Dr. Banerji-Sastri in the Journal of Behar and

contains peculiarities that are observed in these dramas. It does not appear unwarranted to say that the dramas discovered at Malabar and attributed to Bhāsa by Mm. T. Ganapati Sastri should have been abridged in the Court of the Pallava sovereign Rājasimha. Malabar has preserved many ancient customs and usages that prevailed long ago in South India. It preserved for us many forgotten works like the Arthaśāstra and its commentaries, Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Nātyasāstra, Bhāmaha's Alāmkāra and Śaṅkarācārya's commentary on the Yoga Sūtras. Similarly it seems to have preserved these Pallava abridgments of early dramas, several of which are enacted in the orthodox Kerala stage even today.

From the nature of the account in the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Subandhu's work on dramaturgy, Subandhu's date cannot be determined. There is nothing to say whether he is the same as the Mauryan Minister or the Author of the prose romance Vāsavadatta. The latter appears from various references in his work to belong to the period of the decline of the political power of the Guptas.

A. RANGASWAMI SARASVATI

Orissa is mentioned in the Mamandur inscription of the Pallava king who mentions this drama as well as the Mattavilāsa. The Mattavilāsa is a prahasana written by the king to ridicule the Jains and Buddhists. The Bhagavadajjukam is mentioned in the line preceding the one where the Mattavilāsa is mentioned. But the connection in which it is mentioned is not evident as the inscription is damaged. It might have mentioned that Mahendravarman, whose literary achievements the inscription details, wrote the Bhagavadajjuka just as he wrote the Mattavilāsa. Or it might have said that Mahendravarman wrote his Mattavilāsa on the model of the early drama Bhagavadajjukam. One of the manuscripts of the work discovered contains a verse at the beginning which says that its author's name was Bodhayana. A commentary of the drama that has also been discovered says that the name of the author of the drama was Bodhayana.

Hindu Theory Of Property

In Sanskrit vocabulary property is subsumed under the word "artha", a generic term deep as well as wide, standing as the second among the four categories of human life, viz. dharma (righteousness), artha (wealth), kāma (fulfilment of desire), and mokṣa (salvation). A long process of gradual crystallisation brought into it all the various meanings which became attached to it in course of time. This may easily be referred backwards to the different periods of growth, but here they are alluded to merely in an introductory fashion without any philosophical emphasis. The Lexicographer Amara of c. 800 A. D. gives the following meanings of *artha* which disclose the development of the concept stage by stage. Relevant synonyms mentioned in his work are—a thing, need, purpose, earning, wealth, property¹. And all these words show a close connection between the underlying ideas, which is clearly revealed by an analysis of them. Thus a thing is the material form of a need which it somehow satisfies. A purpose is the psychological side of it, and earning is exchange for property and need, while wealth is accumulated property in the most convenient shape. In the dictionary of synonyms, no explanation can be expected for the terms, yet it shows the precipitate of the ideas already highly advanced and mature at the time of the dictionary-maker. In about 300 B. C. and long before Amara, Kauṭilya technically defined "artha" as "the subsistence of mankind" and even "the earth which contains mankind is also termed "artha"².

¹ Amarakoṣa, pp. 242, 325, Colebrooke's edition.

² Arthasāstra, p. 515. Mill has fully endorsed it in his query. "But is there nothing recognised as property except what has been produced (by labour)? Is there not the earth itself, its forests and waters, and all the natural riches above and below the surface? These

PSYCHOLOGY OF PROPERTY

The mental side of property desires to be treated before its political side not only because of its naturally earlier genesis but also for the fact that a better understanding of its rise and growth calls for it. For purely psychological analysis and ethical vision, the Brhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad supplies the earliest thought on the subject, and the basis for ritualistic morality as in Manu and the Mahābhārata. The moral responsibility of possessions is a never-ending theme with the Hindu moralist, but nowhere else is found the exact reason why property is desired in its widest sense. Says the Brhad-Āraṇyaka—

“Therefore in the present time people living alone desire thus ‘May I gain wealth to do my works’ (possibly sacrificial rites). Having desired thus he thinks ‘I am incomplete’. So long as he does not obtain the desired object. Man naturally striving for self-completion and failing to secure the objects of his will considers himself incomplete and then complete on gaining them”¹.

It also gives the relation between the self and property (vittam) including cows etc. as—“His (man’s) self is the nave and his property (even as cows etc.) is of the nature of the circumference of the wheel”², signifying thereby the supplementary yet intimate connection between the two. This figure of speech is too common in Hindu thought and it points to a unity of parts, which though strictly inapplicable to this case yet shows the importance of property to the self for expressing itself.

Such an analysis as the above of the oldest of the Upaniṣads is quite in keeping with modern psychology viz.

are inheritances ‘of the human race’ (Prin. of Pol. Econ., p. 480). Śukra speaks of “the earth as the source of all wealth” (Śukra-Nīti, p. 23).

¹ 4th Brāhmaṇa, 17.

² 5th Brāhmaṇa, 15.

that property completes the will. In other words it is some form of self-completion whether it is collected wealth or daily earning as means to acquire property. In this sense property is said to be "objectified will"¹ and here the Hindu psychology already quoted is sound and very modern in its outlook. It explains wealth whether it is possession or property as the expression of the will or of the instinct of acquisition.

In Hegelian language the idea of the *Upaniṣad* quoted above signifies in a roughly compressed way that "since our *wants* are looked upon as primary, the possession of property appears at first to be a means to their *satisfaction*; but it is really the first embodiment of freedom and an independent end. A person must give to his freedom an external sphere, in order that he may reach the *completeness* implied in the idea The reasonableness of property consists not simply in satisfying our needs but in its superseding and replacing the subjective phase of personality". Thus "property is the embodiment of the particular will"².

The Brhad-Āranyaka takes the naked self only or "the individual as considered in his first abstract simplicity and hence with reference only to those features of personality with which he is directly endowed and not to those which he might proceed to acquire by voluntary effort"³. And then when it shows the relation of the self to property it lays down the true principle that property is the self expanded just as the circumference is mathematically the extension of the centre on all sides.

RISE OF PROPERTY

The origin of property as an institution is a political question. It is in reality an index to the social stage in which it appears, just as has been suggested in the Mahā-

¹ Bosanquet's Phil. Theo. of the State, p. 241.

² Hegel, Phil. of Right, Dyde's Translation, pp. 48, 49, 50.

³ Adapted from Hegel's Phil. of Right, Dyde's Translation, p. 52.

bhārata¹. Political thought characterises it first as possession indicating its crude form before the birth of the state and as property proper when state-laws come into operation. This may be designated pre-state and post-state property according to Gierke² or as mere possession unregulated by law and regular property as a political institution in Rousseau's view³. The purely natural or industrial stage of property is represented in Manu and its social and political stage in the Mahābhārata, but both influenced more or less by the Buddhist traditions.

A few words in passing are necessary here before entering upon a discussion of the origin and nature of property. The whole question is finally one of rights and how such rights can arise. Ritchie has admirably put it in the most expressive form in his "Natural Rights". He is of opinion that "the attempt to base the right of property on the Law of Nature takes two principal forms : in both of these we see the influence of that sense of "nature" in which the *natural* means what is least affected by human institutions. There is the theory which bases property on *occupation*, and there is the theory which bases it on *labour*"⁴. Grotius is an example of the first and Locke of the second just in the same Indian way as the Buddhist idea and that of Manu. But labour and occupation are the two poles of property ultimately merging into one, for occupation itself is a form of labour, implicitly assumed in all theories but explicitly explained by George. As against Grotius and in support of Locke, George argued that "the right of property, since it originates in the right of the individual to himself, attaches only to things produced by labour but cannot attach to

1 Mahābhārata, Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, p. 973.

2 Pol. Theo. of the Mid. Age, p. 50.

3 Social Contract, p. 19; Cole's edition.

4 Natural Rights, p. 226.

things created by God"¹. For Grotius "all acquisition by labour" is occupation because all property is made out of pre-existing matter². The Buddhist account takes no notice of the element of labour involved in property, which is of course fundamental in Manu. Such a position naturally ushered in the Trust theory of a property as a distinct and highly significant contribution.

(a) The Buddhist tradition, which is probably chronologically earlier but has a later colouring, traces property back to that state of nature in which everything was common to all being used according to needs. Proprietary demarcation was the effect of the selfishness of individuals who tried to appropriate more than his share as provision for the future. Thus it is related that :—

"If these beings (primitive men) wanted rice to eat in the evening or in the morning, they would go and get what is requisite, but it happened that one being who was of an indolent disposition took at one time enough rice for evening and morning. Now another being said to him, "come let us go for rice." Then he answered him, "look after your own rice, I have taken enough at one time to last me morning and evening". Then the other thought, "Good capital ! I will take enough rice for two, three, seven days" and he did accordingly. Then it happened that some one said to this person "come let us go for rice" but he answered him, "Look after your own rice ;

1 Condition of labour, p. 35.

2 Natural Rights, p, 268. It is interesting to note that Śukra does not recognise occupation or possession as a source of right. "A man is not the owner of property because it is held by him. Is it not found in the case of thieves that somebody's property is being held by somebody else ? Śukra-Nīti, p. 210. To answer Śukra the view of Manu and Locke has to be adopted.

I have taken enough at one time to last me two, three, seven days". "Good capital ! thought the other. I will take enough rice for a fortnight, for a month ;" and he did accordingly.

And because these beings took to laying up provisions of this spontaneously growing rice, it became coarse ; a husk enveloped the grain, and when it had been cut it grew not up again, but remained as it had been left. Then these beings assembled together in sorrow and said, "Let us now draw lines of demarcation and establish boundaries between each one's property" (portion). And so they drew lines of demarcation and set up bounds "This is mine—this is thine." (They said). Now this is the first appearance in the world of a system of boundary lines and this (boundary) is right or not right according to the king's decision for he is the Lord of the Law."¹

It is to be noted that the necessity for political society is seen in the rise of property according to the Buddhist view which is more comprehensive and better connected than Manu's treatment given below. Regulation of property and the assignment of rights introduced an assessor who is the first political head. The rudiments of proprietary right are also indicated though not so pointedly as in Manu.

(b) Manu gives the essentially individualistic conception of property in its most primitive or merely labour-produced form when the state had no existence nor even society of any kind other than the presumably nomadic. It seems Manu goes back in substance to a stage earlier than that pictured in the Buddhist record. He does not speak of any conflict with other individuals or any consequent pressure for regulating property and right, but only defines condition of the right to property which appears to be intuitive i. e. natural. Such

¹ Rockhill's Buddha, pp. 5-6.

right is based on industry or labour becoming proprietary at once, or in the language of Locke "labour was to be the title to it". Manu has declared :

"According to ancient authorities the land belongs to him who first cleared it of forests and a deer to him who pierced it first with his arrow."¹

The Hindu legislator has not mentioned the names of the authorities he was following but it is clear that there was this old tradition in his time. It is in keeping with Locke's treatment of the same subject. These lines from the English philosopher are parallel to Manu in thought and language :

"As much land as a man tills, improves, cultivates and can use the products of, so much is his. Thus the law of reason makes the deer that (American) Indian's who hath killed it".²

But later on Locke deals with property just in the same way as Buddhist account has done above. The principles involved are the same, for he went on to say that :

"This is certain that in the beginning, before the desire of having more than man needed had altered the intrinsic value of things, which depended only on their usefulness to the life of man.....though men had a right to appropriate by their labour, each one to himself, as much of the things of nature as he could use, yet this could not be much nor to the prejudice of others, where the same plenty was still left to those who would use the same industry.....The increase of lands and the right employing of them is the great art of government."³

(c) The maintenance of property or proprietary rights is an advanced question untouched by Manu but only hinted by

¹ Manusamhitā, IX, 44.

² Civil Government, Cassell's edition, pp. 24, 25.

³ Ibid., pp. 29, 31.

the Buddhist record. Nowhere is the need for the state is more urgently felt than in the sphere of rights and claims. In a sense the state is for these and these are born with the state. Even in the Vedic time a king was needed to assign rightful portions presumably through state actions. The elected king is expected to do it as his duty. In the electing hymn the Atharva Veda says—"Be seated on this summit of the body politic and from there vigorously distribute the natural wealth¹". In the justice of the state is seen to lie the germ of private and personal property though it is no theory in the Vedas. The Mahābhārata concerns itself with this problem of rights and draws a distinction between *mineness* (ownership) of two kinds external and internal and defines it as "consciousness that it is my property, my son etc"². Evidently the one is proprietary consciousness of right and the other is the enjoyment of property acquired. The point here is how could these be possible? Undoubtedly these involve "possession" and "protection" of property for the keeping up of right, and such enjoyment and security of property can be assured only by the state through its coercive power of "danda" i. e. restraint and punishment. It is in line with Rousseau's argument that in the state of nature there is but "possession which is merely the effect of force or right of the first occupant", and "not property which can be founded only on a positive title" as in civil society³. Thus property as the most important instrument of the family which is the political unit becomes in the Epic the primary product of the state and the chief factor in consolidated society. It is worth noticing that the Mahābhārata everywhere puts property in conjunction with wife and children indicating thereby the whole apparatus of family life. From this point of view Bosanquet has called property "a corollary of the household family"⁴.

¹ Atharva Veda, III, 4, 2. Vide Note infra, pp. 278-9

² Rājadhārmānuśāsana Parva, xiii, p. 950.

³ Social Contract, p. 19, Cole's edition.

⁴ Vide Bosanquet's Phil. Theo. of the State, p. 281.

HINDU THEORY OF PROPERTY

In anarchy or the non-state condition "none can have any (sense of) 'mine-ness' (i. e. claim) to anything", "none can live in possession of food and things", "none can safely enjoy wealth and wife" (family life)¹. This socioplasmic chaos is not civil society but the state of nature. Here anybody can have anything. Any two combine to take the property of one and many combine to take it from the first two. "Like the fish in shallow water and the birds in a sequestered place, enjoyment is under envy according to sweet will"². Hence as shown by Prof. Sarkar "property does not exist in the non-state (condition of the logic of the fish—Mātsya-nyāya)..... Property however is not mere *bhoga* i. e. mineness or ownership, Property (*bhoga*, enjoyment plus *mamatva*, ownership) is the differentium between the non-state and the state³. Necessarily the Mahābhārata has declared that "acquiring wealth and taking to a wife must be done under the shelter of the king"⁴. For men can spend their days only by taking the shelter of the all-fruitioning king⁵. This is practically equal to saying that the highest security and development of the accessories to life are obtained in the state, since it not only preserves but creates right which comes into being with its own life. But the Epic recognized that there can be no right to fruits without sowing of seeds⁶, which is in short labour-produced title. Kautilya speaks of activity (labour) being the root of all wealth⁷.

(d) The Trust doctrine regarding property evidently avoids the difficulty of initial proprietary rights and being necessarily in intimate connection with religious ideas, concerns itself rather solely with the object of acquiring it. In fact the question of right does not arise at all when everything is looked upon

¹ Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, lxvii, lxviii, pp. 984, 985.

² Ibid., pp. 984, 985.

³ Pol. Theories and Institutes of the Hindus, p. 204.

⁴ Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, lvii, p. 973. ⁵ Ibid., lxxvi, p. 990.

⁶ Aśvamedha Parva, p. 1310. ⁷ Arthaśāstra, p. 44.

as the gift of god. It is also a natural intuition consequent on man's experience of the world and of himself. The Hindu conception of the material world agrees with the Christian idea¹ in accepting it as the bounty of the Maker. The Mahābhārata speaks of the purpose of creation:

"For the enjoyment of all beings this whole world of moving life and inert matter has been created by his (God's) power"².

But to the question of man's use of the world and all the things found in it there is only one answer throughout the Hindu Sāstras. The individualistic idea has been carefully shut out so that no selfish end might be read in the object of creation. While the Vedas pray for "riches turned to worthy ends" and "wealth that directs both worlds"³, the Epic states that "wealth has been created for sacrifices (yajñā) and man has been appointed the trustee for it"⁴. And "wealth is the means to dharma (righteousness)"⁵. This wealth and righteousness (artha and dharma) are inter-related, the former being under the latter. Their combination is sweet and beautiful like that of honey and nectar⁶. The Mahābhārata further enjoins that "wealth above one's need must be given to the poor"⁷. Manu distinguishes between "godly wealth" and "demonical wealth" according to their use⁸, which in fact serves for a supplementary commentary on the parable of the talents⁹. It is like Prof. Hobhouse's division between "property for use" and "property for power" in his "Property, its Duties and Rights"¹⁰. In fact Manu's object for earning consists in "supporting relatives, performing

1 Gen. I, 28. Eccl. XVII, 1-11. 2 Anuśāsana Parva, xiv, p. 1199.

3 Rg Veda, I, 141. 4 Rājadharmaṇuśāsana, xx, p. 954.

5 Rājadharmaṇuśāsana Parva, viii, p. 147.

6 Āpaddharma Parva, clxvii, p. 1049.

7 Mokṣadharma Parva, clxix, p. 1105. 8 Manu, XI, xx, p. 658.

9 Matt. 25; 15ff.

10 Quoted in Hodgkin's Christ. Revol., p. 221.

religious rites and saving the body from hunger and nudity"¹. Again "a man desiring happiness must not earn more than his need, viz. for maintaining himself and his family and doing religious works, for contentment is happiness and discontent is sorrow"².

In its deeper implication the trust theory of property stands next door to the Communism of Plato and More and necessarily reduces to the vanishing point all exclusiveness of the Aristotelian type for an expanding spiritual generalisation of everything acquired in this world by the energy and enterprise of man. The individual element in personal use of things gives place to a higher utility where others (gods and men implied in sacrificial rites) receive proper, if not greater, consideration. Thus it is said that "the whole world is based on Yajña (sacrificial rite)³ and apart from its orthodox and scriptural meaning, it has an undoubted social significance and a spiritual character; for "yajña and the world are reciprocally protective"⁴. This reminds one of Tawney's standard of personal property in his famous book the "Acquisitive Society", viz. what is "needed for proper service to the community"⁵. In the conception of Yajña as combined religion and service the radical Epic socialism declaring everybody having equal claim to everything⁶ is superseded by a robust spiritual idealism which secures practically the same result but avoids the patent difficulties. Sukra, therefore, declares that "the world exists through Charity and Goodness"⁷. "Through wealth men get virtue, satisfaction and salvation⁸. Like Manu Šukra also insists on "enjoying wealth after giving away portions to the king, relatives, friends, servants, thieves and wife and sons"⁹. But Kauṭilya found "the

¹ Manu IV, 3, p. 191.

² Manu IV, 12, p. 194.

³ Mokṣadharma Parva, clxviii, p. 1111.

⁴ Ibid., p. 1112.

⁵ Quoted in Hodgkin's Chārist. Revol., p. 221.

⁶ Aśvamedha P., p. 1331, vide supra p. 265. Authority II, p. 18.

⁷ Šukra Nīti, p. 148.

⁸ Ibid., p. 264.

⁹ Ibid., p. 265.

world bound by wealth"¹ and "wealth, the means to virtue and enjoyment"². Here is a combination of the social and individual elements implied in the responsibility of possessions. The whole argument may be summed up in the idea of the Epic that "by wealth can be controlled this world and the next, and truth and righteousness"³.

In fact Manu's pronouncement stands as a challenge to the world even to-day. The quantitative solution of socialism means equal distribution and nothing more, while Manu drives at a qualitative change in man's attitude to property. A. J. Penty says, "it was the problem of inducing men to obey the moral law in the sphere of economics, of preventing them from obtaining more than their share of property.....that led Socialists in the past to escape from the dilemma by demanding the abolition of all private property whatsoever. But experience is proving that.....(it) is to follow the line of maximum resistance"⁴. Tawney suggests that "if society is to be healthy, men must regard themselves not as the owners of rights, but as *trustees* for the discharge of functions and as instruments of social purpose. They will insist that property is moral and healthy when it is used as a condition and involves the discharge of definite personal obligations"⁵. And this is Dharma (righteousness) and Yajña (sacrifice) in the Hindu sense⁶.

In the conception of property as *trust* the Hindu thinkers reached—it must be admitted—very high degree of economic idealism which in depth and extent showed the most consummate synthesis of the spiritual and the material, transforming the latter at every step into means and instruments for the former. If the spirit is really spiritual the use of property

¹ Arthaśāstra, p. 398.

² Ibid., p. 394.

³ Sānti Parva, lxxx, p. 1023.

⁴ Towards a Christian Sociology, p. 150.

⁵ Acquisitive Society, pp. 28, 44.

⁶ Cf. Trivedi's Yajña Kathā.

becomes spiritual as well, or as Hegel puts it as giving a soul to property. To regard property as trust does therefore mean a great spiritual advance and is in fact impossible without it. The west in running to extremes in its theories about property has almost lost sight of this great principle—although it is learning it of late which holds together in their proper places in relation to rights both the individual and society in which he lives. It is the transmutation of individualism and socialism into something which is both without destroying either totally and for good. The details of the regulation of private property in individual life according to Hindu thought are impossible here, but it is sufficient to say that Hindu religious practice eminently succeeded in divesting the individual, through various rites and sacrifices up to the stage of sylvan retirement, of unnecessary, injurious and mischievous accumulation without any recourse to "death duties" or other forced regulations. Yet all was voluntary from the sense of spiritual duty and the self of man was not snatched away from him. The proper balance between Vyaṣṭi (the individual) and Samaṣṭi (the collection) was the aim of the Hindu religious economist; he could not logically sacrifice any one of these for the sake of the other and thus raise an outwardly easy yet impracticable theory. When a light sneer is passed on the all too religious strain of Hindu thought in every department of knowledge, its right import is often misunderstood and more often missed altogether. If anything is supposed to infuse the correct spirit into man's use of this God-created world, adjusting all economic and social relations into a spiritual whole free from jarring and concussion, it must be religion after all, when it is liberated from its air-tight segregation and is allowed to flow into and become one with politics, economics and sociology. The solution of the property problem seems to lie in this direction. Western Christianity with its individualistic emphasis has apparently failed to realise what Hinduism tried to do through the institution of Yajña of many kinds down to the number-

less vratas or small ceremonies. Even in socialism itself the trust idea has a good and important part to play contributing to its very basis and goal.

(e) Laukika property, i. e., its legal aspect, is cited from *Mitākṣarā* and *Sarasvatī-Vilāsa* and other law books in Jolly's *Recht* and Sitte, p. 91. "And juridically speaking, the property taken cognizance of by the state is *laukika* i. e. worldly, material, or secular" is Prof. B. K. Sarkar's explanatory remark¹. As a legal institution it does not touch the theory proper, having no direct bearing on it. The difference between real and personal property involving the right to use, transfer, bequeath, sell and destroy any property is essentially a legal question. But its sacredness is preserved by the authority of the state under *danda* or punishment, or in other words through the operation of law. It is the state that gives validity, as shown by Prof. Sarkar² to the "seven modes of acquiring property" according to Manu (X, 115) and to its "three titles" according to *Vasiṣṭha* (XVI, 10) and other legal incidents³.

The net result of the institution of property in consolidating social and family life is as great and far-reaching as that of the very establishment of the state itself, though the former is subsidiary to and dependent on the latter⁴.

1. Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 208. The *Mīmāṃsā* view of property is the extreme *laukika* idea making it a mere convention. So "Vījñāneśvara following Prabhākara argues that Jaimini (IV, 1-3-6) was of opinion that property was essentially a matter of popular recognition" and such recognition is only convention (Kieth's Karma *Mīmāṃsā*, p. 101).

2 Ibid., p. 209,

3 Jolly, *Recht* and Sitte, pp. 90-92.

4 Baudhāyana evidently takes the state to exist for the express purpose of protecting property and life and though he is not quite explicit his meaning is clear in his law-book where he speaks of the duty of the ruling caste, the *Kṣatriyas*, (I, 10, 18, 3 and 16, pp. 199 and 201, S. B. E. vol. XIV). The passages referred to run thus—

Following the Mahābhārata Prof. Sarkar has pointed out¹ that "two miraculous changes are effected in social life once private property is called into existence. First, people can sleep without anxiety 'with doors open'² and secondly, women decked with ornaments can walk without fear 'unattended by men'³. This is equal to the most comprehensive security to life and its necessary accessories which make life worth living in this world and gives a significant meaning to it.

J. N. C. GANGULY

"In the Kṣatriyas (God placed) strength.....(the privilege) of using weapons and protecting the treasure and life of created beings for the growth of (good) government"

Cf. Mill—

"However the assumption that government exists solely for the protection of property is not one to be deliberately adhered to.....that protection being required for person as well as property. The ends of government are as comprehensive as those of social union". (Prin. of Pol. Econ., p. 485).

¹ Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 209.

² Śānti Parva, lxviii, 30; p 985.

³ Ibid., 32. p. 985.

The Vicitra Nāṭak

II

Date of Composition

The Sikh records generally refer to two different periods of literary activity in the career of Guru Govind Singh. The first was the period when the Guru is said to have lived in obscurity in the hills where 'he set himself to the task of self-improvement', and the most important of the modern writers say that it covered the first 20 years of Guru Govind Singh's pontificate¹, though we must state here that there is no evidence to support such a statement. During the second period the Guru was living in retirement at Damdama² where he secured a safe retreat after his final defeat at Chamkaur, having experienced, in the meantime, all the dangers and dramatic escapes of a fugitive under a hot chase. How long the Guru remained at Damdama we do not definitely know. Dr. Narang states that the Guru stopped there for about a year³ and Cunningham also practically says the same thing⁴. As the latter places the battle of Chamkaur in 1705-6⁵, the Guru's stay at Damdama could not have extended much more than one year for it is almost certain that he left the place about the beginning of 1707, as it was from Damdama that he was called to the south by the Emperor and he had not proceeded far on his journey when he came to know of Aurangzib's death which took place on the 3rd March, 1707⁶. But we must point out here that the battle of Chamkaur cannot be placed so late as 1705. The great seige of Anandpur

1 Cunningham, p. 67, see also f.n. 2 ; Narang, pp. 74, 75 ; Irvine, p. 14.

2 Half-way between Hansi and Ferozepur ; Cunningham, p. 80 ; see also Irvine, p. 88, f. n.

3 Narang, p. 99.

4 Cunningham, p. 80.

5 Ibid., p. 79.

6 Irvine, p. 1.

took place about 1701 and as it was almost immediately followed by the battle of Chamkaur whither the allied army proceeded as soon as they came to detect that the Guru had fled, Govind's final defeat cannot be placed later than 1702. We are inclined to think therefore that the Guru's stay at Damdama was somewhat longer. It is stated in the *Sākhī Book* that the Guru stopped at Damdama for 'three years minus some months and days'¹, and it seems that at least on this point it is not far from truth. At any rate, the Guru's stay must have been sufficiently long to have enabled him to dictate to Bhāī Mani Singh the whole of the *Granth Sahib* to which was added for the first time the hymns and ślokas of his father with a śloka of his own, and to compose at least a part of the *Daśam Pādsāh kā Granth*².

To which of these periods are we to assign the composition of the *Vicitra Nāṭak*? Opinion is almost equally divided. Cunningham and Narang say that the entire *Daśam Pādsāh kā Granth* was written when the Guru was living in retirement at Damdama³; Malcolm and Griffin would place the composition of the *Granth* near about 1696 and Rose in 1698⁴ while Macauliffe is of opinion that the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, at least, was composed probably about 1692⁵. The question is thus one of great difficulty but I think that the position can be, to some extent, cleared if we begin by settling the chronology of the events narrated in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* for it is likely to set a limit to the field of our enquiry by narrowing down the range of probability and enabling us to settle definitely at least a lower limit.

¹ Sirdar Attar Singh's Translation, *Sākhī*, No. 59.

² Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 223.

³ Cunningham, p. 80; Narrang, p. 99.

⁴ Malcolm, p. 186, f. n.; Lepe¹ Griffin's Ranjit Singh, p. 48; Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, compiled by Rose, vol. I, p. 690, f. n.

⁵ Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 1. f. n.

Cunningham, Narang and Irvine place all these events after 1695. They all start with the assumption that the Guru passed the first twenty years of his pontificate in seclusion in the hills and as he had ascended the gaddi of his father in 1675 his public career could not have commenced earlier than 1695. Cunningham adds that 'the period is nowhere definitely given by English or Indian writers ; but from a comparison of dates and circumstances, it seems probable that Govind did not take upon himself a new and special character as a teacher of men until about the thirty-fifth year or until the year 1695 of Christ¹. The learned author perhaps very naturally thought that it was not likely that the Guru had entered into military adventures before organising his followers into an efficient machine and so dated Guru Govind Singh's public career from 1695. But we do not understand why, with the unanimous testimony of the Sikh authorities before him, Dr. Narang commits the same mistake. Perhaps with the single exception of the authority quoted by Malcolm², the Sikh records are unanimous in placing the introduction of Guru Govind Singh's reforms in 1699³ and they all state that the actions narrated in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* took place before that event. Indeed, there is one piece of negative evidence in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* itself which appears to us conclusive. In his description of the battles the Guru gives his followers their full meed of praise and many of them are individually mentioned. We are informed of the feats accomplished by Sri Shah, Nand Cand, Kripal, Dayaram, Maheri Cand, Sangatia and others but nowhere does the common cognomen of Singh appear. This fact makes it certain that all these battles took place before the Khālsā came into existence.

Next, the Bilaspore *Banswara* supplies us with a very

¹ Cunningham, p. 67, f. n. 2.

² Malcolm, p. 186, f. n.

³ Panth Prakāś, p. 183; Itihās Gurū Khālsā, p. 325; Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 93; Sūraj Prakāś as quoted by S. Banerjee, p. 204.

important date. It is stated there that Raja Bhim Cand 'passed the closing years of life as a Fakir after abdicating in favour of his son Ajmer Cand, who became the 35th Raja in 1692 A. D.¹. Now, Raja Bhim Cand of Bilaspore figure most prominently in the account given by the Guru. The battle of Nadaun, the negotiations with Hussain Khan, and the fight against Raja Gopal of Guler, in all these Bhim Cand plays a very important part, and if he had abdicated in 1692 it follows that all these events happened before that year. The *Sūraj Prakāś*, and the *Gur Vilās*, however, state that Raja Bhim Cand participated even in the great seige of Anandpur in 1701 but other Sikh records seem to corroborate the Bilaspore *Banswara*. The period immediately following the incidents we have been discussing here is somewhat obscure and the Sikh records indicate that Guru Govind Singh temporarily retired to the hills whence he came out just on the eve of the introduction of his reforms. When the Bilaspore Raja is next mentioned in connection with the opposition to the Guru's reforms we find the name of Ajmer Cand in some of the Sikh chronicles². We may, therefore, accept 1692 as the date that marked the close of Raja Bhim Cand's public activities and consequently all the incidents in which he figures must be placed previously to that year.

Mr. Rose, who has been the first to give a close attention to this question, is of opinion that the incidents narrated in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* must have taken place between the years 1691 and 1698³. He arrives at this conclusion mainly on two different grounds. He places the composition of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* in Samvat 1755 (1698 A. D) and secondly, he accepts Gurbux Singh's statement that the first of

¹ Simla Hill-States Gazetteer, Bilaspore, p. 6.

² Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 99; Panth Prakāś, p. 204.

³ Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, vol. I, p. 690, f. n. 2.

Guru Govind Singh's letters discovered by him at Dacca, which is dated Samvat 1748 (1691 A. D.) was written at a time 'when peace still prevailed though were munitions being collected'. But as Mr. Rose accepts the statement of the Bilaspore chronicle that Raja Bhim Cand had abdicated in 1692¹ it is difficult to see how his views can be maintained. He says that hostilities probably commenced in 1692, the very year which witnessed the end of Raja Bhim Cand's public career but in that case all the events in which Bhim Cand participated, viz., the battle of Bhangani, the battle of Nadaun and the adventures of Hussain Khan will have to be accommodated into a single year, which is manifestly impossible. From the Guru's own account it appears that at least the first and the second of these engagements took place after an appreciable interval but even if we suppose that the events followed one another in quick succession one single year would be clearly insufficient. Moreover, the reasons, that Gurbux Singh advances for his supposition that even in 1691 hostilities had not commenced, do not seem to be convincing. The letter in question 'acknowledges the receipt of swords, clothes and money through some delegates sent by the Sangat and asks for more clothes, shields and war munitions²'. So there is nothing in the letter itself which suggests that it was written at a time when peace still prevailed. Munitions would certainly be collected in anticipation of war but they might equally be collected when war was going on or even when war had ended. But Gurbux Singh really bases his argument on the second and the third letters. These letters are not dated but Gurbux Singh states that they were evidently written at intervals of a few months after the first letter of 1691. In the second letter the Guru asks for a first class war elephant and that an elephant was actually sent is clear from the postscript on the letter that followed³. Gurbux

¹ Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, vol. I, p. 690, f. n. 4.

² Dacca Review, 1915, p. 231. ³ Ibid., 1916, p. 316.

Singh goes on to say that 'an elephant was also the primary cause of the commencement of hostilities against him by the Hill Raja of Bilaspore, who subsequently called in the Moghuls to his help. The Sikh books relate that 'this was a Meghna elephant, a present from Raja Ratan Rai of Assam. As contemporary history does not support the Sikhs tradition, the elephant in question might have been the one sent from Dacca and possibly a present from Raja Manik Rai of Chittagong through the Dacca Saṅgat'¹. It is on the basis of this supposition that the elephant, which was the immediate cause of the quarrel between the Guru and Raja Bhim Cand of Bilaspore, had been sent by the Dacca Saṅgat after 1691 that we are asked to accept the statement that hostilities had not yet commenced in that year. The first part of Gurbux Singh's argument seems plausible. It is narrated in the Sikh records that Guru Tegh Bahadur had accompanied Mirza Raja Ram Singh in his expedition against the Ahoms leaving his family at Patna², where Guru Govind Singh was born during his absence. But the tenth Guru was born on the 7th of Paus, Samvat 1723³ and Raja Ram Singh's expedition against Assam took place two years later⁴. Therefore it is not possible to reconcile the Sikh tradition with contemporary history. Gurbux Singh suggests that Guru Tegh Bahadur possibly accompanied Raja Subal Singh Sesodia, the only Rajput of note that took part in the expedition against Chittagong, which was carried on in the winter of

¹ Dacca Review, 1916, p. 316.

² Macauliffe, vol. iv, pp. 348-352.

³ Cunningham makes Govind 15 at the time of his accession (p. 66) and he is followed by Narang, who vaguely says that the Guru was barely 15 (p. 72). But the evidence of the Sikh records is unanimous. See Irvine, p. 84, f. n.

⁴ Sarkar's Aurangzib, vol. iii, p. 187. Raja Ram Singh was appointed to the command against Assam in December, 1667, and he reached Rangamati in February, 1669.

1665-66 A.D. and this corresponds very well with the date of birth of Guru Govind Singh¹. But his identification of the elephant that led to the quarrel with Bhim Chand with the other that was sent by the Dacca Sangat is, more or less, a clever guess and we find it difficult to accept its implications in the face of all that we have said before and the united testimony of the Sikh authorities that hostilities had commenced at an earlier date.

Indeed, it seems to us that this confusion about the chronology of Guru Govind Singh need never have arisen if the Sikh records had been given the attention they deserve. They are all unanimous with regard to the general sequence of events and the date of the commencement of hostilities with the Hill Rajas. We would reserve the discussion of the details for another occasion but it may be stated here that most of the important Sikh authorities are agreed that the battle of Bhangani, where the Guru received his baptism of fire, took place about Samvat 1744 or 1687 A.D.². Besides, there exists another very interesting piece of evidence which we would mention here for what it is worth. We are told that after the battle was over Guru Govind Singh rewarded those of his followers who had distinguished themselves in the fray. One of these fortunate few was the Brahmin Dayaram whom the Guru credits 'with having fought bravely like Drona of old'. He was given a shield made of rhinoceros-skin and it is still preserved in the residence of his descendant at Anandapur. It is about 2 feet 3 inches in breadth and to it is attached a weapon resembling the triangular head of a spear. On the latter there is an inscription describing the circum-

¹ Dacca Review, 1815, p. 222, f. n.

² Panth Prakāś, p. 161; Mácauliffe, vol. v, p. 51. He places the birth of Ajit Singh in January, 1687, which event he places immediately after the battle of Bhangani; Itihās Guru Khālsā, p. 322.

tances of the grant, which is dated Samvat 1744¹. As we are not in possession of the opinion of any expert with regard to this inscription it is not safe to place too much reliance upon it but this much may be said that the date of the inscription at least proves the existence of a strong Sikh tradition that the battle of Bhangani was fought in 1687.

The Sikh records do not tell us anything definite with regard to the time of the battle of Nadaun but there is a hint in some of them which suggests that the battle was fought about 1689. We are told that the Guru's second son, who was born on the seventh day of the month of Cet, Samvat, 1747 (April, 1690) was named Zorawar Singh, or the powerful lion, in commemoration of the battle of Nadaun². The failure of the son of Dilawar Khan and the adventures of Hussain Khan followed soon after and from the account given in the *Panth Prakāś*³ it appears that these were finished by the year 1691. At any rate we must place them before 1692, the year of Raja Bhim Cand's abdication.

But now a difficulty arises. In the 12th and 13th sections of the *Vicitra Nāṭaka* two other incidents are mentioned in which Raja Bhim Cand plays no part. The 12th section gives an account of a struggle between some of the Hill Rajas on the one side and a general of Dilawar Khan named Jujhar Singh, on the other. In the 13th section the Guru narrates the story of the arrival of a son of Aurangzib in the Punjab. 'It does not appear that the Emperor's son remained long in the Punjab or any depredations there'⁴. He was succeeded by Mirza Beg Khan who proceeded to plunder all those who had taken

¹ T. Banerjee—Life of Guru Govind Singh (in Bengali), pp. 170-171.

² Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 55.

³ Panth Prakāś, p. 164.

⁴ Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 59.

refuge in the hills as soon as they came to know the Shahzada was approaching. 'Any that escaped from Mirza Beg were afterwards punished by four other equally relentless officers who succeeded him'. From the Guru's account it appears that desertions had taken place from his own ranks and he concludes his work by cursing the apostates in this world and the next.

The adventure of Jujhar Singh is ignored by the Sikh writers and the reason may perhaps be guessed. They were writing about their Guru and, as the incident in question had no concern with him, they did not think it necessary to incorporate it in their works. Even with regard to the second incident the Guru's direct concern was not much and it appears from his own treatment of the subject that he incorporated it in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* mainly with the object of reading a lesson on apostasy. From other references in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* it appears that desertions were by no means rare and the Guru hardly misses an opportunity of telling us how the apostates were punished either by himself or by others¹.

Nevertheless, this particular reference introduces a very great complication. The name of the Shahzada is not mentioned in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* but Macauliffe says that it was Prince Muazzim who afterwards became known as the Emperor Bahadur Shah². Malcolm is of opinion that 'this must have been in the year 1701, when Bahadur Shah was detached from the Dakhin to take charge of the government of Kabul, and was probably ordered, at the same time, to settle the disturbances in the Punjab³'. This is a mere guess which rests on two assumptions—that the Prince referred to in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* was none other than Bahadur Shah himself and that he was ordered to settle the

¹ *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 37, 38; x, 1.

² Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 59.

³ Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 60, f. 11
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disturbances in the Punjab when he was appointed to the government of Kabul. Cunningham does not seem to accept Malcolm's views¹, but they receive considerable support from the *Gur Vilās*, perhaps the most important authority on Guru Govind Singh next to the *Vicitra Nāṭak* itself. From Bhāī Sukhā Singh's account it appears that almost immediately after the creation of the Panth, difficulties commenced with the Hill Rajas, mainly because the Sikhs began to exact contributions by force from the Hill people, whenever they found themselves in urgent need of anything that the latter possessed². The Rajas were exasperated and complained to the Imperial authorities at Delhi. The Government sent two successive detachments to aid the Rajas against the Guru but the allies were on each occasion, defeated and driven back. Then a Shahzada was sent to take the command against the Guru but Nand Cand, a Khatri of Delhi, who possessed some influence with the prince, succeeded in convincing him of the Guru's innocence and the Prince returned to Lahore without achieving anything. He was succeeded by two officers who plundered all those who had taken refuge in the hills on the approach of the Shahzada. Four others followed under the leadership of Mirza Beg Moghul who completed the work of their predecessors³. As Guru Govind Singh introduced his reforms in 1699 it does not seem improbable that these events occurred near about 1701.

But we find it extremely difficult to follow the lead of *Gur Vilās*, particularly in this instance. Of the circumstances of 1701 we get copious details from the various Sikh authorities. The breach with the Hill Rajas was final and complete. They had already made a common cause against the Guru and called in the aid of the Muhammadans. The allies had been worsted in two or three successive engagements but they

¹ Cunningham, p. 78, f. n. 1.

² *Gur Vilās*, xiii, 8, 9.

³ *Gur Vilās*, xii, 143-185.

1. H. Q., JUNE 1925
CC-0: In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

had rallied back and the great seige of Anandpur was about to commence. But the Guru's own account of the circumstances under which the advent of the Shahzada took place is entirely different. From the *Vicitra Natak* it clearly appears that Dilawar Khan sent Jujhar Singh against the Hill Rajas when he heard of the disastrous end of Hussain Khan's expedition. At any rate, it is extremely improbable that any appreciable time elapsed between the death of Hussain Khan and the expedition under Jujhar Singh. The Guru says that when the news of these repeated failures reached Aurangzib, he was beside himself with rage and sent his son to the Punjab to set matters right. It appears, therefore, that the prince was sent primarily against the Hill chieftains, some of whom were in rebellion and had successfully defied and destroyed the armies of Dilawar Khan under successive generals, and only secondarily, against the Guru. Moreover, the Guru's account does not indicate any considerable gap between the death of Jujhar Singh and the arrival of the Shahzada. It may as well be pointed out here that, like all the other Sikh records, the *Gur Vilas* also places the various other incidents narrated in the *Vicitra Natak* previous to the introduction of Guru Govind Singh's reforms and it becomes difficult to understand why the Guru, in his narrative, would skip over a considerable period, abounding in interests of every description, and suddenly bring his account to a close by referring to an incident, with which he had no direct concern. We, therefore, think that Macauliffe's arrangement is right and that the expedition of the Shahzada must be put earlier.

Macauliffe does not specify the time of the Shahzada's arrival but as he is inclined to think that the *Vicitra Natak* was composed about 1692 he must be understood to have meant that the expeditions of the Shahzada, Mirza Beg Khan and his four successors must all have taken place before that year. We do not think that we would be justified in committing ourselves to any definite date. From the Guru's

account, however, it clearly appears that these events followed one another in rather a quick succession and therefore Macauliffe cannot be far off the mark, though perhaps a bit too early.

We have said before that the Sikh records indicate a gap in the military activities of Guru Govind Singh from after the close of these incidents till 1699. Indeed, they give us very little information with regard to the doings of the Guru in the meantime and the veil is not completely raised till the Guru convenes the great assembly at Keshgarh and bring the Khālsā into existence. It was during the period of obscurity that the Guru is said to have lived in retirement on the lofty peaks on which the temple of Nainā Devī is situated¹, and was engaged, as some say², in worshipping the Devī and performing a great sacrifice in order to obtain her blessings, or, as modern Sikh opinion suggests³, in demonstrating the futility of all such practices. The sacrifice is said to have been undertaken in the year 1698⁴. We are not told anything about the length of the Guru's stay in the hills but it appears that he could not have been long in retirement. Guru Govind Singh's letter to the ancestors of the Phulkian chiefs, now preserved at Patiala, in which he invites them to aid him with their horsemen, is dated Samvat 1753⁵ and it shows that even in 1696 the Guru was still busy with his military preparations. It is not stated in the *Vicitra Nātak* whether the four successors of Mirza Beg

1 See Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bilaspur, pp. 13, 14.

2 Sūraj Prakāś ; Gur Vilās, viii, ix, x.

3 Panth Prakāś, xxv ; Khan Singh's Hām Hindu Nahin, pp. 116-121 ; Tej Singh's Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism. In this instance Macauliffe follows the Panth Prakāś as his object throughout has been to present the Sikh view-point (vol. v, pp. 60-65).

4 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 66 ; T. Banerjee, p. 201.

5 Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, vol. i, p. 690, f. n. 2 ; Macauliffe also refers to a letter written in the same year, vol. v, p. 224.

Khan came together or one after another, and it may not be improbable that the Guru's anxiety to keep himself in a state of preparedness even in 1696 was due to the activities of one of these in the hills close to Anandpur.

Now perhaps, we can take up the question of the date of composition. The general discussion about the chronology of Guru Govind Singh has not, as we had expected, set a limit to the range of probability but the ground has been considerably cleared and we can now proceed with some amount of confidence.

There exist two different versions of a Sikh tradition about the composition of the *Granth* by Guru Govind Singh. The story runs that after his accession to the gaddi of his father, Guru Govind Singh sent for the *Granth Sāhib* of Guru Arjan which was in the hands of Dhir Mal at Kiratpur. As is well known, this Dhir Mal was no friend of Guru Tegh Bahadur and his son and he is said to have retorted that if Guru Govind Singh was the true representative of the Gurus and if the light of Guru Nānak was in him it was quite within his powers to produce another such *Granth*. The Guru accepted the challenge but here the tradition splits and we have two versions of what followed. Some say that Guru Govind Singh accordingly composed the *Daśam Pādsāh kā Granth*¹, while others are of opinion that it was this refusal of Dhir Mal to hand over the *Granth Sāhib* of Guru Arjan that led him to dictate the whole of the *Granth* to Bhāī Mani Singh during his residence at Damdama². It was on this occasion that the hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur and a sloka of Guru Govind Singh himself were incorporated in the *Granth Sāhib*.

As far as we are aware, there is no evidence to support Cunningham's statement that at Damdama the Guru occupied

¹ T. Banerjee, p. 216; Sikkhan de Rāj di Bikhiā, p. 43.

² Panth Prakāś, p. 255; Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 223; Itihās Guru Khālsā, p. 338.

himself in composing supplemental Granth, the Book of the Tenth King, to rouse the energies and sustain the hopes of the faithful¹. The Sikh records merely state that at Damdama the Guru compiled a new recension of the old *Granth Sāhib* and it seems clear that the composition of the tenth Granth had begun earlier. As we have already said the *Daśam Pādsāh kā Granth* is a huge, unwieldy medley of heterogeneous matter and there is clear internal evidence that different parts of it were written by different writers at different times. The Guru is said to have kept 52 bards in his employ, the names of some of whom are given in the *Panth Prakāś*². Together with these the Guru had commenced translations and abridged versions of the more important of the Hindu mythological works and from a few scanty references, here and there, it appears that much of it had been completed even before 1699³. Dr. Narang says that Guru Govind Singh compiled the *Daśam Pādsāh kā Granth* during his residence at Damdama⁴ but we learn from the Sikh records that the compilation by Bhāī Mani Singh took place 26 years after the death of the Guru⁵.

In fact, we know of no evidence that would entitle us to say that the *Daśam Pādsāh kā Granth* was either written or compiled during the Guru's residence at Damdama. But it may be argued that a part of the work, including the *Vicitra Nātak* might have been written at Damdama. Besides the fact there is no evidence to support such a statement either, there are two other considerations which would prevent us from accepting such a view. In the first place, we have got to take note of the contents of the work and the motive that lay behind its composition. The main object of Guru was the presentation of his mission. What would

1 Cunningham, p. 80.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 83; Panth Prakāś, p. 164, f. n.

3 Panth Prakāś, p. 164; Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 67.

4 Narang, p. 99.

5 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 223, f. n.

be the psychological moment for the issue of such a work ? Undoubtedly the moment when the Guru was preparing to take upon himself the role of a teacher of men. Secondly, it may as well be pointed out here that in the *Vicitra Nātak* we breathe a distinctly pre-Khālsā atmosphere. 'The account given by the Guru of his previous life and the circumstances which led to his birth reads like an episode from the Purāṇas, and all its details are saturated with the spirit of Hindu mythology'¹. The *Vicitra Nātak* presents a striking family resemblance to such other translations and abridged versions of mythological texts like the *Candī Caritra* or the *Rām Avatār*, the latter of which, according to the Guru's own statement, was completed on the fourteenth day of June, 1698, 'at the base of the lofty Nainā Devī on the margin of the Sutlej waters²'. As far as we are aware, Sikh tradition places the composition of the *Vicitra Nātak* as well, near about that time³. Thus while, on the one hand, there is hardly any evidence in support of the views of Cunningham and Narang, circumstances as well as tradition point to an earlier date. We have already stated that Macauliffe's date seems to be a bit too early and, therefore, we are inclined to place the composition of the *Vicitra Nātak* somewhere between 1696 and 1698.

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

¹ Narang, Appendix I, p. vii.

² Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 67.

³ Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, vol. i, p. 690, f. n. 2 ; Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 186 ; Sikkhan de Rāj di Bikhā, Court's Translation, p. 43.

The Māndūkya Upanisad and the Gaudapāda Kārikās

II

Now, in discussing as to how the prose passages are based on the *Gaudapāda-kārikās* and not the latter on the former let us now first examine whether the *Gaudapāda-kārikās* can be regarded as a *vārtika* 'explanatory work' or a *vyākhyāna* 'exposition' of the *Māndūkya Up.* as is generally held and supported by Ānandagiri and others¹. That it cannot be regarded as a *vārtika* is evident from the simple fact that it has no characteristics of a *vārtika*. A *vārtika* is an explanatory work in which there is discussion on what is said, what is not said, and what is said badly in the original book². And there is nothing of it in the *Gaudapāda-kārikās*. If one compares them with the works known by the name of *vārtikas*³ one will at once understand that the *Gaudapāda-kārikās* cannot be classed with them⁴.

¹ See I. H. Q., I, p. 124, f. n. 1.

² Says Rājaśekhara (*Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, GOS., 1916, p. 1) : "uktānuk-taduruktacintāvārtikam."

³ Such as Kātyāyana's *Vārtika* on Pāṇini, Kumārila's *Śloka-and Tantra-vārtikas* on Śabarasvāmin's commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā sūtras*, Sureśvarācārya's *Vārtika* on the commentary on the *Bṛhad. Up.* by Śaṅkara.

⁴ It may also be noted *en passant* that according to Ānandagiri (p. 5, l. 22) the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās* are also regarded as a *Prakarana*. A *Prakarana* is a kind of work which is connected with a particular part of a śāstra and deals with a thing or things which are not discussed in the main śāstra :

"Śāstraikadeśasambaddhaḥ śāstrakāryāntare sthitam,

Prāhuḥ prakaraṇam nāma granthabhedaḥ vipaścitah."

Quoted by Rāmatīrtha in his *Tikā* on the *Vedāntasāra* (ed. Jacob), p. 81.

This view of Ānandagiri can hardly be accepted when he himself says that the kārikās are mere *vyākhyā* of the Up. For a *Prakarana*

Supposing the kārikās to be an explanation of the prose passages of the Up. as they are held to be, one may naturally expect to see the difficult points in the latter explained in the former. And it is quite natural that in an explanatory work the same words of the original are quoted and explained so far as possible and reasonable. And it also goes without saying that an exposition may add something new to what is said in the original ; but it does not omit the most important and difficult words or points in it. If these facts are considered it will be evident that it is rather the kārikās than the prose passages that should be regarded as original.

According to the general view, kārikās 3-5 are to be taken as the exposition of the prose passages 3-4, and 5. Now, *saptāṅga* ‘one with seven limbs’ and *ekonaviniṣatimukha* ‘one with nineteen mouths’ are the two most difficult words in the passages 2 and 3 which are differently explained by different commentators¹, but not even the slightest mention of them has been made in the kārikās. Why should the kārikās which are supposed to have been written to explain the text omit these two important words ?

And again, in the Upaniṣad (3, 9) we have the word *vaiśvā-nara* and not *viśva*, while in the kārikās (I, 4 ; II, 19) there is only *viśva* and never *vaiśvā-nara*. Here the author of the kārikās which are held to be an exposition of the Up. should have quoted or written the actual word, *vaiśvā-nara*, employed

cannot be regarded as a *vyākhyā*. And if the word *vyākhyā* is taken in a still wider sense then any work on Vedānta, which has already been written or would be written in future, would be regarded as a *vyākhyā* of the Ups. But nobody can subscribe to this view. The word *prakarana* is, however, used in the *bhāṣya* (p. 5, l. 9) in the sense of ‘treatment’ ‘discussion’ or ‘chapter’ as the different *prakaranas* of the *Yogavāsistha*.

¹ See Śaṅkara here and on *Nṛsp.* Up., 4, Madhva, Kūra-nārāyaṇa, Puruṣottama, Vidyāraṇya on *Nṛsu.* Up., I. and Nārāyaṇa on *Rāmot.* Up. 3.

in the text. For a commentator is only to explain what is actually found in the text and he cannot take the liberty of changing it. Nor are the two words, *viśva* and *vaiśvānara*, identical or synonymous. Why has he then altered the original word using for it *viśva* so many times? That it is owing to the metre is out of the question.

The same is the case with *prajñānaghana* in the Up. (5) for which the kārikā (I) has *jñānaghana*. In this connection there are three words more, which should have been mentioned here in the kārikās viz., (i) *jāgaritasthāna*, (ii) *svapnasthāna*, and (iii) *suṣuptasthāna*; but they are entirely omitted in them. But why? It cannot be explained away by simply saying that they are not so important or difficult as to require any explanation; for to understand the main thought of the passages there, those three stages, wakefulness, dream, and deep sleep, must be borne in mind.

The fact is that the kārikās are the older work from which as from the others the Up. is compiled¹, and in doing so some of the thoughts in those works as well as in the kārikās are simplified, modified, or explained, adding also something more to the Up. Thus in the present case the author of the Up. having found the word *viśva* in its special sense nowhere in the Ups.² appears to have substituted it for *vaiśvānara* used in such great Ups. as the *Chāndogya* (V, 11, 12) and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (V, 9, 1). Now, the author of the *Nṛsiṁhottaratāpanīya Up.* I, where the whole of the *Māndūkyā Up.* is quoted with some different readings³, seeing both the words, *viśva* in the kārikās and *vaiśvānara* in the Up., has adopted both of them⁴ and simplified the text to some

¹ See infra and P. Deussen's *Upanishads des Veda*, 1921, p. 574.

² Excepting perhaps *Maitrī Up.*, 6, 7, whose origin is also later.

³ The *Māndūkyā Up.* is almost entirely quoted also in the *Nṛsp. Up.*, I.

⁴ *Sthūlabhuk caturātmā viśvo vaiśvānarah prathamah pādah.*

extent¹. And why these two terms are taken together and what might be their special significance is clearly shown by Vidyāraṇya in his Tīkā on the *Nṛṣu. Up.* and *Pañcadaśī*, I, 28-29,² adding some new colour. In the same way though without any authority the three states *jāgarita*, *svapna* and *susupta* (*Up.*, 3, 4) are later additions for a clearer exposition of the terms *bahiṣprajña*, *antaḥprajña*, and *ghanaprajña* (*Kā.*, I).

The words *saptāṅga* and *ekonavimśatimukha* referred to above are also mere later additions though without any particular importance. As regards *ghanaprajña* (*Kā.*, I) the author of the *Up.* (5) has adopted the original word *prajñānaghana* from the *Bṛhad. Up.*, IV, 5, 13. on which, too, the former is undoubtedly based, for we see that the author of the kārikās profusely quotes from it.

That the *Up.* itself has borrowed from the kārikās (as well as from others) will be evident also from the comparison of both the texts. In the kārikā we have simply *ghanaprajña* (1) and *ānandabhuṭ* (3) or *ānanda* (4) while the *Up.* (5) reads as follows :—

“ ‘Yatra supto na kañcana kāmam kāmayate, na kañcana svapnam paśyati (*Bṛhad. Up.*, IV, 3, 19) tat susuptam. Suṣuptasthāna ekibhūtaḥ³ ‘prajñānaghana’ (*Bṛhad. Up.*, IV, 5, 13) eva ‘ānandamayo’ (*Tait. Up.*, II, 5, 1) hyānandabhuṭ cetomukhah prajñastrīyah pādali”.

Which of these two, the kārikās and the *Up.*, is original and which is the exposition can now easily be inferred. The word *ghanaprajña* in the kārikā is no doubt

¹ This is also with the *Nṛp. Up.* For example, *sūkṣma* is substituted in the *Nṛṣu. Up.*, I for *pravivikta* in kārikas, 3, 4. Here *sūkṣma* is undoubtedly more simple than *pravivikta*. For details the reader is referred to that *Up.*

² See also *Vedāntasāra*, 17.

³ See *Bṛhad. Up.*, IV, 12; *Praśna*, IV, 2; *Mund.*, 3, 2, 7; also *Nṛṣp.*, 4; *Nṛṣu.*, I; *Rāmots.*, 3.

identical with *prajñānaghana* though in a somewhat different form, and to explain it the Up. has introduced the word *ekibhūta* found in the form of *ekibhavati* in so many Ups.¹ Similarly *ānandabhuji* (kārikā, 3) is explained by *ānanda-maya* taken from the *Tait. Up.* (*loc. cit.*).

The Kārikā I, 19 runs as follows :—

“Viśvasyātvavivaksyām adisāmānyam utkataṁ,

Mātrāsampratipattau syād āptisāmānyam eva ca.”

And the corresponding passage (9) of the Up. is this :—

“Jāgaritasthāno vaiśvānaro’kāraḥ prathamā mātrāptē-
rādimatvād vā, āpnoti sarvān kāmān adiś ca bhavati ya evam
veda.”

Vaiśvānara whose sphere is waking state is the first *mātrā* ‘measure’ *a*, on account of its all-pervasiveness (*āpti*) or on account of its being first (*ādimattva*). One who so knows has all his desires satisfied and becomes the first (of all).

Now, if these two texts are compared, it will at once be evident that the second is merely the exposition of the first with a tinge of the language used in the Brāhmaṇas. Here is one point more. In the first extract the reason is advanced as to why *Viśva* (= *Vaiśvānara* of the Up.) is to be regarded as *a*. And the reason is similarity (*sāmānya*)—similarity between *Viśva* and *a-kāra*. And this similarity is the ‘beginning’ (*ādi*) and ‘pervasion’ (*āpti*). According to the order of *Viśva*, *Taijasa*, and *Prajña*, *Viśva* is in the beginning or first (*ādi*) ; just so is in the beginning or first *a-kāra* of *a*, *u*, and *m* of which *Oṅkāra* is composed. Owing to this similarity *Viśva* is said to be identical with *a-kāra*. The second similarity which is *āpti* is explained thus : As *Viśva* pervades all the visible world so does *a-kāra* all the speech. On account of this similarity, too, *Viśva* is to be regarded as *a-kāra*. The passage of the Up. under discussion, however, gives a somewhat different explanation of this identity. For the kārikā

¹ See the previous note.

says that owing to *both* the similarities of *ādi* and *āpti* they are identical, while the Up. clearly says that it is owing to *either* of them “*āpter ādimattvād vā.*” All these seem to be later developments.

The case is invariably the same with the kārikās I, 20, 21 and the corresponding passages, 10, 11 of the Up. which for want of space I refrain from quoting and explaining here. As regards the passage 10 there is a curious point to be noted. The author says that *Taijasa* is *u-kāra* because of *utkarṣa* ‘superiority’ or *ubhayatva* ‘state of being in both or in the middle’. He then explains the first term¹ only leaving out the second entirely. And this seems to be due to oversight on his part. Besides what is already said there is one thing to be noticed as regards the kārikā I. 21 and the corresponding passage (11) of the Up. In the former one of the two similarities is *māna* measure from $\sqrt{mā}$, while in the latter the word is not *māna* but *miti* from \sqrt{mi} . The difference between the modes of expression of the same thought here and elsewhere as noticed will also show that these two texts, though they deal with the same subject and are closely connected, are independent, both of them having such a freedom as is hardly found in a text and its commentary.

The conception of *ātman* as having four quarters (*catuṣ-pāda*)² is not quite explicit in words in the kārikās, though it may be inferred from some of them³. It is, however, fully developed in the Up. (2) from the beginning. This fact also goes to show the priority of the kārikās to the Up.

The distinction between *turya* or *turīya* ‘fourth’ and the other three, *Viśva*, *Taijasa*, and *Prājña*, as made in the kārikās (I, 10-14), is not at all to be found in the Up. but its nature which is described in a kārikā (I, 29) simply by

1 “*Utkarṣati ha vai jñānasantatiṇ samānaś ca bhavati*”.

2 Up. 2: “*So'yamātmā catuṣpat*”.

3 I, 10-15 (where the fourth state is described), and 24 and 29 (where *Oikūra* is described with and without *mātrā* respectively).

two words, *siva* ‘blissful’ and *dvaita-upaśama* ‘cessation of duality’, is thus delineated in the following two passages of the Up. (7, 12) :

(i) nāntahprajñām na vahiṣprajñām nobhayataprajñām na prajñānaghanām naprajñām nāprajñām. Adṛṣṭām avyavahāriyam agrāhyam alakṣaṇām acintyām avyapadeśyam ekātma-pratyayasāram prapañcopaśamam sāntam śivam advaitam caturtham manyante. Sa ātmā sa vijñeya.

(ii) Amātraścaturtho'vyavahārya prapancopaśamah śivo-dvata evam'oṅkāra ātmāiva.

These two passages are mere amplification or exposition of what is briefly said in the kārikā (I, 29) and consequently are to be regarded as later developments.

Compare the kārikā I, 24 with the passage (8) of the Up. and it will be perfectly clear that the former is explained in the latter in details.

The kārikā I, 6 opening the discussion about the origin or creation (*prabhava*) of things may be connected with the last part of the passage (6) : “*prabhavāpyau hi bhūtānām*.” *Prabhava* is described in the kārikās (I, 6-9) at some length but *apyaya* ‘disappearance’ or ‘vanishing’ is not even touched. This would hardly be likely if the *Gaudapāda-kārikās* were meant to explain the Up.

All these considerations coupled with the views of Madhvācārya and others strongly lead us to the conclusion that (i) the *Gaudapāda-kārikās* are not the exposition (*vyākhyāna*) of the *Māndūkyā Up.*, (ii) the latter is mainly based on the former, and (iii) as such, is later than it.²

Moreover, there is no evidence whatever for assigning it a date before the great Śaṅkarācārya. Nowhere does he or any of his predecessors quote it, nor has he made any

¹ Here *prabhavāpyayau* is undoubtedly taken from *Katha Up.*, 2, 2.”

² Cf. Max Walleser? *Der ältere Vedānta*, 1910, p. 25, where he says that the kārikās do not show that the Up. was before them.

mention of it even in the case where he could or should have done it¹. That he never feels tired of quoting *śruti*s is well-known and so his silence about the Up. naturally gives rise to grave doubt as to whether it existed before him or in his time. That some of the minor Ups. were before Śaṅkara cannot be denied, for instance, the *Brahma* or *Amṛta-bindu Up.*, which is a minor and later Up. This Up. existed prior to Śaṅkara as he himself has quoted it as one of the *Mokṣasāstras* though not as an Up. (*Brahmasūtras*, III, 2, 18). But as regards the *Māndūkya Up.* there is no such evidence.

One may say here that in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* (I, 1, 9) there is a line which runs as follows :— “prabhavāpyayāvityut patti-pratyayayoh prayogadarśanāt”. Here the word *Prabhavāpyayau* is evidently quoted from some work and that work is the *Māndūkya Up.* in which (6) one reads the words in the following line “eso'ntaryāmī esa yoniḥ sarvasya prabhavāpyayau hi bhūtānām”. It is therefore not true that Śaṅkara does not quote the Up. But this cannot be accepted conclusively, for there is a passage in the *Kaṭha Up.* (IV, 11), too, where the same word occurs in the same way “yogo hi prabhavāpyayau” and as one sees Śaṅkara quote so much from this Up. one naturally inclines to think that the quotation might also be from it and not from the *Māndūkya Up.* At least there is nothing to prove that the passage invariably refers to the latter, and so the citation referred to from the commentary of the *Brahmasūtras* does not serve any purpose here.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACARYA

¹ *Ch. Up.*, II, 23, 3. See my paper *Śaṅkara's Commentaries on the Upaniṣads* in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, III, ii, p. 104.

Bengal School of Art

II

Art-culture under the Sena kings of Bengal

In Varendra kingdom Vijayasena Deva claiming descent from a Kṣatriya clan of Karnāṭa in Southern India snatched away the government from the hands of the Pālas. His son and successor Ballāla Sena was too deeply engaged in the extension of territories and consolidation of his conquests and too much interested in social reforms and foundation of Kulinism in Bengal to leave any marked trace of his patronage of art and religion. Ballāla's son Laksmaṇa Sena during the earlier part of his long tenure of sovereignty annexed the whole region from the Sunderbans to Benares and established peace and order, under the shade of which poetry and fine arts flourished with great splendour. Many copper-plates and stone-inscriptions of these three kings have been discovered and correctly deciphered. Vijayapura in the Rajshahi District seems to have been the capital of Vijayasena and the record of his dedication of the temple of *Pradyumneśvara* in the vicinity is now known as the Devapara inscription. Some of the Pāla kings had established their seat of government in Gauḍ, a part of which has been suggested to have been the city of Rāmāvatī, founded by Rāmapāla. Ballāla Sena took that city and had one of his capitals in its neighbourhood, now identified as Ballālabādī. Laksmaṇa Sena erected his fort of Gauḍ on a branch of the Bhāgirathī and the extensive city of Gauḍ is still marked by many large tanks, glorious monuments of Laksmaṇa Sena, even after all the attempts of the Pathan lords of Gauḍ to demolish the traces of the Hindu rule. In Gauḍ and Pandua, both in the District of Maldah, are seen many buildings, ruined temples, broken or unbroken images, misplaced pillars and carved plates, with distinct marks of the art-culture under the patronage of king Laksmaṇa Sena.

The epoch of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is the high-water mark of the Sena-culture. He had a *Pañcaratna sabhā* like the Navaratna of king Vikramāditya and members of his court were erudite pandits. Not only was there a renaissance of Literature but also of Fine Arts, especially of sculpture and architecture for giving a stimulus to Hindu religion by dedicating images and enshrining them in fine buildings. From the workshop of the great city of Gauḍ were imported, by river routes, into all parts of his vast realm from Samataṭa to Benares, fine images of Hindu Tantric gods and goddesses carved from black marble or basalt rocks of the Rajmahal Hills in the vicinity of his capital. Most of the images were of four-armed Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu, of Tantric goddesses, and of Gaṇeśa. As the people of the country were at the time mostly converts from Buddhism or were Viṣṇuvites, the Tantric worship was restricted within the precincts of the capital cities and so the greatest number of images exported from Gauḍ was of Viṣṇu. According to the hard and fast rules of the *śilpasāstras* and in deference to the Tantric *Dhyānamantras*, the iconography of the images, their poses and gestures, their 'finger plays', and visual expression were fixed, but embellished with a halo of divinity, wherein the artist could show his genius and stamp his personality.

In architecture the Bengal artists had a peculiar style of their own distinguished from the Āryāvarta style, and for this they depended on the native style of house-making and utilised the available materials of their locality. As stone is not easily available in Bengal they had to work mainly with bricks, which, though useful for the display of artistic ornamentation, are a sort of short-lived material specially in the damp and saline climate of the country. In the masonry works of bricks, particularly in the construction of temples, the native artists followed the manner of their *Docālās* called *Bungalows* or *Caucālās* called *Mundapas* or *Māths*. For provision of space the *Docālā* buildings were doubled and were called *Jod-Bungalows*

and the *caucālās* were made two-storied and called Pañcaratna or Navaratna or the like, according to the number of *cudās* or spires built on their quadrangular domes.

Thousands of sculptures of the Sena period were destroyed by the inconoclastic Islamic conquerors and thousands of them again were thrown into tanks or buried underground by their Hindu owners, when frightened by the shock of invasion or fleeing for the sake of religion. A few only of the specimens of the Sena Art are here cited, as they can still be noticed with interest or examined with profit:

1. At Pandua in the Maldah District in the Adina and Eklakhi mosques as well as in the Golden mosque and near Saint Nur Qutb Alam's tomb, and at Gaud the ancient capital of Bengal in the same District, in the one-domed *Chika*, and other Hindu monuments of the city, Hindu images on the door-posts and lintels, and artistically carved black marble pillars are still observed. In the Adina mosque, images of *Lakṣmī* and *Sarasvatī*, the attendant deities of a *Viṣṇu* image already removed, images of goddesses and a water-pipe with a carved figure-head of *Makar*, presumably belonging to an earlier huge Hindu structure, have been utilised though it was against the principle of Islamic custom. The gate-way of Makhdum Shah's *Dargah* at Pandua is an old *Bānglā Torana* of the Sena period. In the ruins of Gaud many stone plates with scenes from *Purāṇas* in relief have been discovered.

2. A stone image of *Candī* found at Dacca with an inscription showing that it was dedicated in the 3rd year of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena Deva.

3. A beautiful stone image of a Tantric goddess *Bhuvanesvarī* still worshipped at Shaikhati village in the Jessore District, which, I have reasons to hold, was once a provincial capital of the Sena kings in the Bagri division of Bengal. This image was highly eulogised by Mr. V. A. Smith from an artistic point of view; and an account of it has been given in my "History of Jessore and Khulna".

4. A large image of four-armed Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva discovered (in January, 1923) by excavations in the modern town of Jessore (the main figure is 5ft-9inches in height). This was once enshrined in a huge temple, some stone door-frames of which had been previously discovered by me.

5. Hundreds of four-armed Vāsudeva images are still discovered all over Southern Bengal where the Sena Kings had once a firm rule. Three such images have been unearthed in the district of Khulna alone in the current year. One such image of Viṣṇu was unearthed in the heart of the town of Jessore in the month of November last.

6. It is known from an unpublished Ms. *Digvijaya Prakāśa* that king Lakṣmaṇasena Deva erected the temple of *Canda Bhairava Śiva* at Isvarīpur or old Yaśohara, the famous capital of King Pratāpāditya. An exquisitely fine image of Gaṅgā Devī standing on a *Makar* is now preserved in the temple of *Yaśoresvarī* at the place, testifying to the successful culture of Art under the noble patronage of the Sena kings, and disproving the remark of Tārānāth about the inferiority of Hindu images subsequent to the Pāla period.

Art-culture under the Pathan kings of Bengal

It took a long time for the Pathans to take possession of Bengal since their first conquest. Newcomers as they were, at the outset they were more busy with the assertion of their power and extension of their annexations than with any attempt for the erection of any palace or mosque. Subsequently, when they had a settled government of their own in place of anarchy or revolts and were seated safely on the *masnad*, they adopted themselves to the products and the climate of their colony; and when they had enough of the destruction of Hindu and Buddhist temples, they turned to replace the old edifices by building mosques 'on a grand scale and in a distinctive style', utilising the old materials as best as they could.

But they imported no particular style of their own into Bengal. Fergusson has rightly remarked "wherever the Mahomedans went, they introduced no style of their own but employed the native people to build their mosques for them and this accounted for the fact that some of the most beautiful Mahomedan buildings in India were purely Hindu from first to last"¹. The Pathan kings of Gaud and Pandua called for native artisans who had almost all lost their crafts for want of patronage, and had their guilds broken, workshops dismantled, and their disciples dispersed or massacred. Those that still survived were pining for employment. They had no Hindu customers as none dared enshrine an image. It is forbidden by the Moslem canons to draw, carve or paint any animal figure. So the art of iconography was practically lost and sculptors had to maintain and satisfy themselves by chiselling massive columns, carving tastefully decorated prayer niches of mosques with flower work, and embellishing their front with plates of artistic Arabic inscriptions in Tagrah characters.

When Bengal declared her independence and it was acknowledged by the Delhi emperors by the middle of the 14th century, the Pathan kings of Bengal became great builders and under their noble auspices architecture flourished. The architects were mostly Hindu, working with materials generally vandaliised from old Hindu structures and the process of construction and mortar-making was also Hindu. The only modification was by the suggestions of the patrons to give the whole thing a new appearance decidedly Islamic. This was done by the introduction of the pointed arches and domes after the manner of some Delhi mosques believed by Mr. Smith to have belonged to the style of Baghdad². That may be true with regard to domic vaults but the pointed arch had been known to Bengali masons from a very early age. Mr. Havell observes : "The Bengali builders being brick-layers

¹ Fergusson's lecture "On the Study of Indian Architecture", p. 32.

² History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 392.

rather than stone-masons had learnt to use the radiating arch whenever it was useful for constructive purposes long before the Mahomedans came there.”¹

So the Pathan architecture in Bengal was a hybrid of Hindu and Moslem art but still it was a distinctive Bengali style. “It is (Fergusson says) neither like that of Delhi, nor Jaunpur, nor any other style but one purely local, and not without considerable merit in itself; its principal characteristic being heavy short pillars of stone supporting pointed arches and vaults in brick—whereas at Jaunpur, for instance, light pillars carried horizontal architraves and flat ceiling.”

The peculiarities of the Pathan style of Bengal mosques, even if built in the Moghul period, may be thus briefly noted
 (1) Pointed arches supported by heavy short pillars of stone. (2) Ceilings of a number of brick-built domes. (3) The number of domes was odd in any one row or aisle and was the multiple of odd numbers from 1 to 13.² (4) Minarets in the four corners occasionally with 2 or 4 more in the

¹ Indian Architecture, pp. 52-6; see also in this connexion, Fergusson's History of Architecture, vol. II, p. 353; Mitra's Bodhgaya, pp. 102-3.

² Some examples of the odd number of domes may be cited:—Mausoleums and Dargahs were generally in one-domed mosques, rarely with verandahs as Eklakhi at Pandua, Chika, Gumti and Kadam Rasul mosques at Gaud, tomb of Khan Jahan at Bagerhat. Domestic mosques were generally of 3 domes, occasionally 3×3 or 9 domes, found all over Bengal. Examples of 5 domes in each of two rows are Rajbibi mosque of Gaud, Golden mosque of Pandua, Hussain Shah mosque at Bagerhat; of 5×3 or 15 domes—the small Golden or Eunuch's mosque at Gaud; of 3×11 or 33 domes—the great Golden mosque of Gaud with a verandah of 11 more domes; of $3 \times 7 \times 3$ or 63 domes—the mosque of Pandua near Hughly; of 7×11 or 77 domes—the so-called Satgambuz building at Bagerhat, and the combination of several multiples like $3 \times 5 \times 5$, $3 \times 3 \times 13$, 5×5 , and 3×3 in different cloisters is to be found in the great Adina mosque of Pandua, of which the total number of domes is 391.

middle of the walls. (5) Front on the east and closed on the west side, (6) Prayer niches, often ornamented on brick or stone in the western wall; and (7) Raised pulpit for the Muazzim close to the centre of the western wall.

Conclusion

With the fall of the Pathan rule in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century, the Bengal school of art died out. The Mughal never settled permanently in Bengal. Mughal Bengal nurtured no particular style of architecture of her own and built no edifice worthy of notice from an artistic point of view. The architecture of the British period in Bengal is an admixture of many types, both eastern and western, having no local stamp or district characteristic. The only revival of art in recent years that may be referred to is the rise of a new Nationalist Bengal School of Painting in Calcutta, inaugurated by the great artist Mr. Abanindranath Tagore and a host of his enthusiastic and promising followers.

SATIS CHANDRA MITRA

The Date of Kalidasa

The object of this paper is to fix the date of Kālidāsa after sifting the various conflicting traditions and scrutinising all available data. I have tried to avoid mixing up facts with inferences and theories, and facts certain with bare possibilities. As far as possible, I have verified all the facts for myself and have not allowed unproved theories like Dr. Fleet's as to the origin of Indian planetary astrology to weigh against facts and inferences which are certain.

The Aihole inscription of Śaka 556-634 A. C. refers to the fame of Kālidāsa (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 6, p. 4). Bāṇa Lower limit. (c. 620 A. C.), the court poet of Harṣavardhana (607-648 A. C.) praises his sweet sayings (*Harṣacarita*, intro., st. 16); and Subandhu, whose prose *Vāsavadatta* Bāṇa refers to as having humbled the pride of poets (*ibid.* st. 11) mentions Durvāsā's curse on Śakuntalā (Śrīrangam ed., p. 191), an incident invented by Kālidāsa and absent in the *Mahābhārata*. Kālidāsa must therefore have certainly lived before 600 A. C.

There are data pointing to his date as the 6th century A. C. The *Rājāvalī* (c. 1550 Upham : *Mahāvamśa*,

Three Kālidāsas. vol. 2, p. 245) and *Pūjāvalī* (1311) make him and his friend Kumāra Dhātusena of

Ceylon (542-551) die together. Dakṣināvarta and Mallinātha, commenting on *Megha-dūta*, st. 14, see therein a reference to Diñnāga of the 6th century A. C. The reference is not a necessary one, but they must have been led to it by a tradition that Kālidāsa and Diñnāga were contemporaries. The *Jyotirvid-ābharaṇa* of 1242 (as indicated by its data in ch. 4, st. 30) makes Kālidāsa a contemporary of Varāhamihira and Amarasiṁha. Now Varāha uses the epoch of Śaka 427 (*Pañca-siddhāntikā*, ch. 1, st. 3), criticises Āryabhaṭa (*ibid.*, ch. 15, st. 20), who wrote in Kali 3600 (*Kāla-kriyā-pāda*, st. 10), and died in Śaka 509 (Āmaraja : com. on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādya*). He therefore lived in the 6th century A. C. Amara too belongs to the same period, as he follows Varāha and not Āryabhaṭa in equating the *manvantara* with 71 instead of 72 *mahāyugas*, and as, on the other hand, his *Kośa* was translated into Chinese in 561 A. C. (Max Müller's *India : What can it teach us*, 1st ed., p. 328). If therefore Kālidāsa was their contemporary, he must have lived in the 6th century A. C. But he identifies Yakṣa with Guhyaka (*Meghadūta*, sts. 1&5), while his reputed contemporary Amara distinguishes them. The Kālidāsa of the *Meghadūta* must therefore be distinguished

from the one who lived in the 6th century A. C., and Rājaśekhara, in fact, mentions three Kālidāsas (Jalhaṇa : *Sūkhi-muktāvalī*) before his own time (c. 900).

The *Aha-nānūru*, a Tamil Saṅgham work, identifies Paraśurāmā with Viṣṇu (*malu-vālnediyon* Lyric 220), while Kālidāsa regards him only as a sage, not as an *avatāra*, even where he encounters Rāmacandra (*Raghuvamśa*, canto Pre-Sangh- 11, sts. 85, 89), and, according to later versions, am age. the spirit of Viṣṇu passes from him to the latter.

Again Kālidāsa makes Uragapura the Pāṇḍya capital (*Ibid.* vi, 59, 60). The Gadwāl plates (7th century A. C.) locate Uragapura on the south bank of the Kāverī (*Epi. Ind.*, vol. x, no. 22). Since, in the Saṅgham age and later, both its banks were subject to the Cholas till their displacement by Pallava Siṁha-viṣṇu in c. 600 A. C., Kālidāsa must date before the entire Sangham age. The period of the Saṅgham age is much disputed, but its close must date before c. 600 A. C., as the tract between the Kāverī and Tirupati, which in the Saṅgham age was subject to the early Cholas, fell in c. 600 A. C. under the Pallavas, from whom it passed to the later Cholas before c. 900 A. C., and as the Saṅgham works mention at least four generations of kings, Kālidāsa cannot date after 500 A. C.

Comparing Vatsa-bhāṭṭī's verses 10 and 11 in the Mandasor inscription of Samvat 529 (472 A. C. Fleet, *Mandasor inscription. Gupta Inscriptions*, no. 18) with st. 66 (Pāṭhak. ed) of *Meghadūta*, we find that Vatsa-bhāṭṭī is only cataloguing the items of Kālidāsa's organic description in almost the same words, and the former's *prāsāda-mālā* (st. 12) seems to have been copied from *Kumāra-sambhava* (vii. 56). Kālidāsa must therefore have lived before 472 A. C.

In the *Raghuvamśa* (iv, 67-68), Raghu is said to have routed the Hūṇas after resting on the banks of the Vaṅksū or the Sindhu. If the Huns had been living Huns beyond the Vaṅksū south of it, Raghu should have defeated them before resting on its banks. The Huns must therefore have lived north of it. Vaṅksū is the reading

adopted by Vallabha-deva, the earliest of the commentators. But Mallinātha prefers Sindhu. If Sindhu is adopted, the northerners whom Raghu defeats (iv, 66) should have been the Kāmbhojas, who however are mentioned separately (iv, 69). Vāñkṣū must therefore be the correct reading; and it is now called the Oxus. The Huns therefore then lived in Sogdiana, and not in Bactria, which they did from c. 120 B. C., when they supplanted the Yue-chi, to c. 420, A. C., when they crossed the Oxus. Kālidāsa thus dates between c. 120 B. C. and c. 420 A. C.

A careful comparison of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (iii, 13-24) with the *Raghuvamśa* (vii, 5-17) and *Kumārasambhava* (vii, 56-70) compels the inference that Aśvaghoṣa. Aśvaghoṣa took many of his ideas from Kālidāsa. If Kālidāsa were the debtor, he would not have repeated the entire description in the same words in two of his works, thereby parading the stolen goods. The orderly development of appropriate ideas, the melodious phrasing and embodied imagery that we find in Kālidāsa are entirely lacking in Aśvaghoṣa. The latter's description is only patch-work poetry. His poetic poverty is such that he repeats the same ideas twice in this short passage (cf. sts. 16&29 with sts. 19&22). We have only to compare *Raghuvamśa* vii. 11 & xvi, 56 with *Buddhacarita* iii, 20 & 16 to find out who is the poet and who the plagiarist. Besides, Aśvaghoṣa himself indicates who is the earlier of the two. When he says that the ladies looking at Buddha exclaimed that his wife was lucky, *with pure minds alone and not with any other motive* (*suddhair manobhiḥ khalu nānyabhāvāt* iii, 24), he has evidently a fling at the remark of the ladies in *Kumārasambhava* that *even a woman who should become Śiva's slave might be deemed lucky, what then of her who should attain his lap?* (*yā dāsyām apyasya labheta nārī sā syāt kritārthā kimutāṅkśayyām* vii, 65). Kālidāsa must therefore have lived before Aśvaghoṣa. The *Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka* and *Dharma-piṭaka-nidāna*, translated into Chinese in 472 A. C. (Bunyio

Nanjo, *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, nos. 1329 & 1340), state that Aśvaghoṣa was the *guru* of Kaniṣka. As Kaniṣka was the founder of the Śaka era, Kālidāsa must have lived before 78 A. C.

In the *Raghuvamṣa* (iv, 61), Raghu is said to have defeated the Yavanas on his way from Trikūṭa to the land of the Pārasikas, i. e., in the Indus delta. Since Yavanas of the Indus delta. before 70 A. C. the Yavanas there had been displaced by the Parthians (*Periplus*, ch. 38), who in turn were ousted by the Kuṣāṇas before 89 A. C. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1881, p. 324), Kālidāsa must have lived before 70 A. C.

The Bhīta medallion (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1, p. 29, no. 81) represents a king and his charioteer seated on Bhīta medallion. a chariot, with a hermit in front stopping him from hunting the deer figured below, and in the background a girl watering a tree in front of a hut. The scene at once recalls the only similar scene in early Hindu literature, i. e. the first act of the *Sākuntalā*; and the situation is Kālidāsa's own invention. As the medallion was found in the Śuṅga strata, Kālidāsa must have lived before the Śuṅgas were wiped out with the Kāṇvas by the Āndhras. Now Magas of Cyrene, who died in 258 B. C. was living in Aśoka's 13th regnal year (Rock-edict, xiii); and as Candragupta (24 yrs.) and Bindusāra (25 yrs.) preceded Aśoka, Candragupta's accession must date before 258 plus 12 plus 24 plus 25, i. e. 319 B. C.; and, as the Mauryas, Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas ruled altogether for 137 plus 112 plus 45, i. e. 294 yrs., the Śuṅgas were extinct before 319-294 i. e. 25 B. C. Kālidāsa must therefore have lived before 25 B. C.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* evidences an intimate knowledge of the history of the Śuṅga period of which no trace is found in the *Purāṇas*. Its information that Puṣyamitra Mālavikāgnimitra. was called Senāpati, and that his grandson Vasumitra fought the Yavanas on the banks of the Sindhu, thus enabling Puṣyamitra to perform an *aśva-*

medha, is confirmed by Patañjali, who refers to Puṣyamitra's sacrifice and the Yavana invasion of Sāketa and Mādhyamika as a recent event, and by the Ayodhyā Śunga inscription (1st century B. C.), which refers to Puṣyamitra Senāpati and his *asvamedha*. The other details of the play have yet to be confirmed. But all this information is not found in the *Purāṇas*. So Kālidāsa must have had access to sources of information not available for later writers. The plot of a Hindu drama should moreover be well-known (*khyāta-vṛitta*). But later generations remembered nothing noteworthy of the Śungas, at least nothing to their credit. Kālidāsa must therefore have derived his materials from the Śungas themselves or their contemporaries, as otherwise the choice of the now insignificant Agnimitra for his hero becomes inexplicable. Kālidāsa must thus have lived before 25 B. C.

On the other hand, this same choice of Agnimitra for his hero fixes his upper limit. Agnimitra was the son of Puṣyamitra Senāpati the father of Vasumitra, and Upper limit. the foe of Mauryasaciva (Act 1, st. 7 ; Act 5). He must therefore be the Śunga Agnimitra of the *Purāṇas*. Kāṭayavema (15th century A. C.) suggests that Agnimitra must have been Kālidāsa's contemporary, as the latter mentions Agnimitra by name in the *Bharata-vākyā*, which should be of universal application. But the *Mudrārākṣasa* (v, 11) which includes Hūṇas among wild Indian tribes and must therefore have been composed after 420 A. C. when alone the Huns crossed the Oxus, likewise mentions the Maurya Candragupta in its *Bharata-vākyā*. Kālidāsa and Agnimitra need not therefore have been contemporaries. But Kālidāsa must have lived after the Śungas came to power. Now the Śungas succeeded the Mauryas as kings of Magadha; and Candragupta Maurya, at the earliest, began to rule only after he had met Alexander in 326 B. C. (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, ch. 52). So the Śunga rule dates after 326 minus 137 i.e. 189 B. C. as the Mauryas ruled for 137 years; and 189 B. C. is therefore the upper limit of Kālidāsa's date.

We have seen already that Kālidāsa's location of the Huns in Sogdiana places him after 120 B. C. In the *Raghuvamśa* (iii, 13) again, he gives five ascendant planets as a Solar signs. mark of great fortune. This implies a knowledge of solar signs and planetary astrology. In the *Kumārasambhava* (vii, 1) he uses *Jāmitra* the Hindu variant of Gk. *diametron*. Strictly it means the 7th sign from the *lagna*, but, as it was deemed to affect the daughter's fortune, it was derivatively applied as here in the sense also of 'auspicious to the daughter.' Now the Balance (*tulā*), which always figures as a distinct sign in Hindu astrology, was unknown even to Hipparchus (c. 125 B. C.) and appears first in Geminus and Varro (c. 100 B. C.). Kālidāsa must therefore have lived after 100 B. C.

Of the Kalinga king alone, Kālidāsa says that he was the lord of the Mahodadhi (Bay of Bengal—*Raghuvamśa*, vi,

Sea-power 57), while even his heroes, the Ikṣvākus, had their of Kalinga. realms bounded by the sea (*āsamudra kṣitiśānām*—

Ibid., canto 1); and in this connection the poet refers to the Spice Islands (*Raghuvamśa*, vi, 57). The reference here to the Kalinga colonisation of Sumātra in 75 B. C. is obvious. Kālidāsa must therefore have lived after 75 B. C.

Kālidāsa therefore lived between 75 and 25 B. C. This conclusion confirms the earliest tradition that the poet was a protégé of Vikramāditya Śakāri of Ujjain, who gave his name

Vikramā-ditya Śakāri of Ujjain. to the Samvat era of 58 B. C. The *Jyotirvid-ābharaṇa* of 1242 A. C. claims to have been composed by the Kālidāsa of the *Raghuvamśa* in the court of Vikrama Śakāri of Ujjain in Kali

3068, i. e. 34 B. C. The claim must be false, as the work mentions Amara and Varāha of the 6th century A. C., but it proves at least that in 1242 A. C. Kālidāsa was believed to have been a protégé of Vikrama Śakāri of 58 B. C. Again, Bhoja of c. 1050 A. C. quotes in his *Sringāra-prakāśa* a dialogue between Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya on the former's embassy to Kuntala, and his contemporary Kṣemendra actually men-

tions in his *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* a work of Kālidāsa named *Kuntaleśvara-dautya*. Earlier still, Abhinanda says in his *Rāma-carita* that Kālidāsa gained his fame through the Śakāri. Kālidāsa's own testimony also seems to favour this tradition. Pāṇini (4, 3, 88) requires the suffix *īya* to be applied only to *dvandva* compounds. But we can construe the title of his *Vikramorvāsiya* only by *vikramena labdhā Urvaśī* etc. (Urvaśī attained by *valour*) ; as Vikrama was neither the name nor title of Purūravas, Kālidāsa evidently chooses to break a rule of Pāṇini so that he may indicate his patron Vikrama Śakāri.

Thus the earliest and most authentic traditions as the Conclusion. results of modern research point to the same conclusion that the poet was a protégé of Vikrama Śakāri of 58 B.C. and it may therefore be now accepted as established beyond all reasonable doubt.

K. G. SANKAR

Some old Bengali Books and Periodicals in the British Museum

While writing my *Bengali Literature 1800-1825*, which was published by the University of Calcutta in 1919, I had no direct access to certain important printed Bengali books and periodicals of that period, which were not available in India and for which I had to rely on the information supplied by Grierson, Blumhardt and others. An opportunity of supplementing a part of this deficiency occurred later on in 1920-21, when I came across some of these early publications in the Bengali collection of the British Museum in London. I propose to give in the following pages a brief account of such interesting information as I could gather by examining these early documents.

I. Herasim Lebedeff and his Bengali Plays

The name of Herasim Lebedeff had been omitted through an oversight in my account of early European writers in Bengali ; and my attention was kindly drawn to this omission by Sir George Grierson in a letter to me dated June 11, 1920. Lebedeff is stated to have been a Russian, but more accurately he was a Ukraine peasant who visited London in the latter part of the 18th century. He came to Madras in the capacity of a bandmaster, and in 1787 arrived in Calcutta, where he appears to have learnt Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindustani. He published in London in 1801 a Hindustani Grammar which is a curious production and which is entitled "A Grammar of the Pure and Mixed East Indian Dialects, arranged according to the Brahmenian System of the Shamscrit Language". On the title-page he gives a quotation from the *Vidyāsunlar* ; and in the preface which contains his autobiography, he states that he wrote several Bengali plays, one of which was acted with great success on November 27, 1795. He does not mention the name of any of his Bengali plays. From old Calcutta publications it appears that a theatre was opened by Lebedeff in "Doomtolla" with the permission of the Governor-General in 1795. The locality of "Doomtolla" has not yet been identified ; some say that it was a street off Old China Bazar Street, while others think that it was the name of a locality at the opening of the Cosaitolla (or what is left of Bentinck Street of today) and was so named in those days on account of the jail and gallows situated there. The Theatre was advertised to open with a play entitled "The Disguise", the characters of which were to be of both sexes and which was to commence with an Indian Serenade and scenes decorated "in the Bengalee style". This was probably a play translated from English into Bengali. Lebedeff also appears to have translated another English play, entitled "Love is the Best Doctor" (is it an adaptation of Molière's well-known farce ?) into Bengali. He subsequently became 'Theatrical Manager to the Great

Moghul' and returned to England in 1800 or 1801. He was later sent to Russia by the London Ambassador, was employed in the Russian Foreign Office and subsidised by the Russian Government in founding a Sanskrit Press. He died in 1815¹.

II. *Manoel da Assumpcao's Bengali Dictionary and Grammar*

At p. 75 of my *Bengali Literature*, mention is made (chiefly on the authority of Grierson) of Manoel da Assumpcao's *Vocabulario* which is perhaps the first dictionary (with a short Grammar) of the Bengali language. This book was not available in any Library in India, but there are two copies in the British Museum, in one of which pp. 41-46 are missing. The title-page reads thus; VOCABULARIO/ EM IDIOMA/ BENGALLA/ E/ PORTUGUEZ/ Dividido em duas partes/ DEDICADO/ AO EXCELLENT. E REVER. SENHOR/ D. FR. MIGUEL/ DE TAVORA/ Arcebispo de Evora do Concelho de sua Magestade/ Foy diligencia do Padre/ FR. MANOEL/ DA ASSUMPCAM/ Religioso Eremita de Santo Agostinho Congregacao/ da India Oriental./ LISBOA/ Na Office. de ERANCISCO DA SYLVA/ Liveiro da Academia Real, e do Senado/ Anno. M. DCCXLIII/ Com todas as licencias necessarias/. The size of the book is duducimo, convenient for the Missionary to carry in his pocket².

There is a short Preface (Prologo) in Portuguese at the beginning addressed to the Reader and the Young Missionary, calling upon the latter to learn Bengali. The author's object is to supply a short grammar with vocabulary, Bengali and Portuguese as well as Portuguese and Bengali ; for a mission-

¹ I am indebted for some information to Sir George Grierson and to a paragraph in the *Statesman*, Calcutta.

² For information regarding the author and his other works in Bengali see my work referred to at pp. 69-76. A facsimile of the title page is given in Kedar Nath Majumdar's *Bāngālā Sāmāyik Sāhitya*, vol. i, p.17 ; the source of this facsimile is not indicated.

ary who is ignorant of the language of his congregation is no missionary at all. If it is objected that many of the congregation can speak Portuguese, it may be replied that many of them speak Bengali also, and there are some who cannot speak Portuguese. Below this Preface, there is the certificate of the censor Fr. George da Aprezentacao.

The work is divided roughly into three parts¹; and, as in his other work *Cepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed* (কৃপার শাস্ত্রের অর্থভেদ), the whole is in Roman character, the words having been trasliterated according to the rules of Portuguese pronunciation. The first part, pp. 1-40, consists of a brief compendium of Bengali Grammar (Breve Compendio Grammatica Bengalla), and gives us four Declensions of Nouns, followed by Pronouns (pp. 1-9), Relative and Interrogative Pronouns (pp. 9-11), Conjugation of Verbs (pp. 12-21), and Syntax (pp. 21-40). This is followed by the second part, which comprises the Vocabulary, Bengali and Portuguese, pp. 41-302. The total number of separate entries in this vocabulary amounts to over six thousand. Some peculiarities of East Bengal pronunciation (for the book was probably written in East Bengal where the author spent his missionary life and learnt the language) are curiously preserved in the (phonetically) trans-literated Bengali words. After this come three short appendices, pp. 303-6, which deal with Bengali words (with Portuguese equivalents) indicating the attribute of God, names of planets, and terms used for the ten celestial signs. The Portuguese-Bengali Vocabulary comes thereafter and occupies pp. 307-577, followed by seven interesting appendices, in which we have words denoting (1) the days of the week,

¹ I have not attempted here to appraise the linguistic or lexicographical value of the work, as my friend Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, who has copied out the whole Grammar, made copious notes from the Vocabulary and has got facsimiles made of many interesting pages of the book, intends writing a fuller account of the subject with illustrations.

(2) numerals, (3) names of the seven planets, (4) names of the different Indian *sāstras*, viz., Agom Xastro (আগম শাস্ত্র), Puran Xaxtro (পুরাণ শাস্ত্র), Bhagbot (ভাগবত), Guita (গীতা), Torco Xaxtro (তর্ক শাস্ত্র, called argumentos sophisticos by the missionary), Niaco (? ন্যায়) Xaxtro (described as Trata de varios argumentos, contra Torco Xaxtro), Zoutex Xaxtro (জ্যোতিষ শাস্ত্র), Boidioc Xaxtro (বৈদ্যক শাস্ত্র), (5) the *gāyitri mantra*, quoted as Gatri dos Bramenes : Ongbhurbhoboxo, tothoxobitur bhoroniong bhorg de boxio dhimohi o ono pros-sodoiat, (6) the attributes of God etc.

III. Ellerton's Bible-translation and Catechism

Ellerton's Bengali version of the New Testament, which was begun long before Carey but which was not published till 1819 in Calcutta, is mentioned at p. 108, footnote, of my *Bengali Literature*. Some detailed description of the book is necessary, as it is probably the earliest attempt at translating the Bible into Bengali, if we do not take any account of Thomas's version which appears never to have been published.

The full title of the book appears thus on the title-page :

জগত্তারক / প্রভু যিশু খ্রীষ্টের মঙ্গল সমাচার / বাঙালী ভাষাতে / রচিত /
এবং পরমেশ্বরের বাণী গ্রন্থ প্রচারার্থে / যে সকল মহাশয়েরা ইংলণ্ড দেশ ও
কুম / জার্মানী প্রভৃতি পরদেশে একযুক্তি হইয়া / প্রবৃত্ত থাকে তাহারদিগের
প্রতি নিরবেদিত / কলিকাতা হিন্দুস্তানি ছাপাখানায় ছাপা হইল / প্রীটর মে
কিলিপ পেরেরা সাহেব / ইং ১৮১৯ সাল/

It contains a full translation of the gospels of Matthew (মঙ্গল-সমাচার মাতিউর রচিত pp. 1-128), Mark (pp. 129-213¹), Luke (pp. 215-350), John (pp. 351-453), the Acts of the Apostles (প্রেরিতের-দের ক্রিয়া, pp. 455-546), the Epistles of Paul (to the Romans পাওলের পত্র কুমীরদিগকে pp. 547-637, also to Corinthians প্রথম ও দ্বিতীয়পত্র করিস্তীরদিগকে pp. 639-725, to the Galatians গালাতীরদিগকে

¹ The pagination is wrong in the British Museum copy ; it is continuous from 129 to 136, then again begins p. 129 going up to 136, then 145 ; correct thereafter.

pp. 727-745 and so forth up to

VOCABULARIO
EM IDIOMA *Balto*
BENGALLA,
E
PORTUGUEZ.

Dividido em duas partes

DEDICADO

Ao EXCELENTE E REVER. SENHOR.

D.F. MIGUEL

DE TAVORA

Arcebispo de Evora do Concelho de Sua Magestade.

Foy deligencia do Padre

F.R. MANOEL

DA ASSUMPC, AM

Religioso Eremita de Santo Agostinho da Congregação da India Oriental.



LISBOA:

Na Offic. de FRANCISCO DA SYLVA.
Livreiro da Academia Real, e do Senado.

Anno M. DCC. XLIII.

Com todas as licenças necessárias.

les of Jacob
বর প্রথম also
also দ্বিতীয়
রণ পত্র, pp.
932-993).
re from the
22f) :

করিয়া তাহার
ভবিষ্যৎ বক্তার
রিবন্টন করিল
নইখানে বসিয়া
পরাদের লেখন
। তাহার সঙ্গে
পার্শ্বে। এবং
নারদের মন্ত্রক
ধ্য [p. 124]
বে ক্রুশ হইতে
ধাচীন লোকের
পনার বরিত্বাণ
। ক্রুশ হইতে
বিশ্বাস করিল
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বে দ্রুই প্রহর
। তিন প্রহর
কতনী অর্থাৎ
সে আশপাশ
লিয়াকে স্বরণ
সপঞ্জ লইয়া
তাহাকে পান
। [p. 125]
ইয়া প্রাণত্যাগ
ক ফাটিয়া গিয়া

the original.

(3) names of the seven planets, (4) names of

eafter.

pp. 727-745 and so forth up to p. 873), Epistles of Jacob যাকুবের সাধারণ পত্র, pp. 873-816), of Peter (পিতুরের প্রথম also দ্বিতীয় সাধারণ পত্র, pp. 826-909), of John (যোহনের প্রথম also দ্বিতীয় ও তৃতীয় সাধারণ পত্র, pp. 910-928), of Jude (বলদার সাধারণ পত্র, pp. 928-932) and lastly the Revelation (দৈব্যপ্রকাশিত, pp. 932-993).

A specimen of its Bengali may be quoted here from the passage on the Crucifixion (Matt. xxvii, 35-52, p. 122f):

তখন তাহারা তাহাকে ক্রুশেতে চড়াইয়া এবং গুলীবাঁট করিয়া তাহার পরিচ্ছেদ ভাগ ২ করিয়া লইল সেই কথা যেন পূর্ণ হয় যে ভবিষ্যৎ বন্দুর দ্বারা উক্ত ছিল যে আমার বন্দু তাহারা আপনারদের মধ্যে পরিবর্ণন করিল এবং আমার জামার কারণ গুলীবাঁট করিল। পরে তাহারা সেইখানে বসিয়া তাহারে প্রহরিতে থাকিল। এবং তাহার মন্ত্রকের উপর তাহার অপবাদের লেখন লাগাইয়া দিল যে এই যিষ্ণু যজ্ঞীরদের রাজা। এবং দুই চোর তাহার সঙ্গে ক্রুশেতে চড়ান গেল এক জন দক্ষিণ পার্শ্বে ও অন্য জন বাম পার্শ্বে। এবং পথগামি সকল তাহাকে তিরস্কার করিতে লাগিল তাহারা আপনারদের মন্ত্রক লাঢ়িয়া কহিল। ওরে মন্দিরের নাশক ও তাহার তিন দিনের মধ্যে [p. 124] নির্মাণ কারক তুই আপনার রক্ষা করিস যদি ঈশ্বরের পুত্র হইস তবে ক্রুশ হইতে নামিস। এবং প্রধান যাজকেরাও পরিহাস করিয়া অধ্যাপক ও প্রাচীন লোকের সহিত বলিতে লাগিল। সে অন্তেরদিগকে পরিত্রাণ করিল আপনার বরিত্রাণ (sic) করিতে পারিল না যদি সে যিশুরালের রাজা হয় তবে সে ক্রুশ হইতে এখন নামুক ও আমরা তাহাকে প্রত্যয় করিব। সে ঈশ্বরেতে বিশ্঵াস করিল এখন তো উনি তাহার উদ্ধুর করুণ যদি তাহাকে রাখিতে ইচ্ছা করেন কেন না সে কহিল আমি ঈশ্বরের পুত্র। এবং যে চোরেরা তাহার সঙ্গে ক্রুশেতে চড়ান গেল তাহারাও তাহাকে সেইরূপ নিন্দা করিতে লাগিল। পরে দুই প্রহর অবধি তিন প্রহর পর্যন্ত দেশ সমুদয় অঙ্ককারাবৃত হইল। এবং তিন প্রহর সময়ে যিষ্ণু উচ্চেংশ্বরে চেঁচাইতে লাগিলেন স্টলী ২ লামা শাবাকতনী অর্থাৎ হে আমার ঈশ্বর তুমি কেন আমাকে ছাড়িয়া গিয়াছ। ইহা সে আশপাশ উপস্থিত লোকেরদের কেহ ২ শুনিয়া কহিল এই মনুষ্য ঈলিয়াকে স্মরণ করিতেছে। এবং তাহাদের এক জন শীত্র দৌড়িয়া এক টুকী সপঞ্জ লইয়া ছিরকায় ভরিয়া দিয়া তাহা এক বেতের অগ্রভাগে লাগাইয়া তাহাকে পান করিতে দিল অন্য সকল কহিল থাক ঈলিয়া তাহাকে পরিত্রাণ [p. 125] করিতে আসিবেন কিনা আমরা দেখি। যিষ্ণু উচ্চেংশ্বরে চেঁচাইয়া প্রাণত্যাগ করিলেন।¹ তখন দেখ মন্দিরের পরদা উপর হইতে নামো পর্যন্ত ফাটিয়া গিয়া

¹ I have preserved the spelling and punctuation of the original.

দুইখান হইল ও ভূমি কাঁপিতে লাগিল ও পর্বত ফাটিয়া গেল। এবং কবরস্থান উদলা হইয়া গেল ও অনেক পুণ্যবানেরদের শৃঙ্খ দেহ উঠিল।

Ellerton's other work, in the form of a Catechism or question and answer between a religious instructor and his pupil, gives an account of the Creation and of the First Ages from the Old Testament in the form of dialogues in Bengali and English. The title page reads thus : গুরুশিষ্যের প্রশ্নোত্তর ধারাতে/স্থিত্যাদির বিবরণ।/বাঙালা আৱ ইংৰেজী ভাষাতে।/নয় অধ্যায়।/An account of/The Creation of the world/ and of the First Ages/in the form of/Dialogues/Between a Master and his Pupil/in/Bengalee and English/by J. Ellerton/Calcutta/ Printed for the Church Missionary Society/By P. Pereira at the Hindooostanee Press/1820/.

As indicated, the book contains nine chapters, and there is a separate title-page and separate pagination to each chapter. The chapter-headings given below, both in English and in Bengali (as in the original), will give an idea of its contents.

- I. The Creation of the world (সৃষ্টির বিবরণ), pp. 1-23.
- II. The Fall of Man (আদমের পতন বিবরণ), pp. 1-27.
- III. An Account of the Increase of Adam's offspring.
First Part (আদমের বংশবৃক্ষির বিবরণ। প্রথম ভাগ।), pp. 1-39.
- IV. An Account of the Increase of Adam's offspring.
Second Part (আদমের বংশবৃক্ষি ও জলপ্লাবিতের বিবরণ। দ্বিতীয় ভাগ।), pp. 1-39.
- V. The History of Noah's Offspring and the Confusion of Tongues (নোহের বংশ বিবরণ এবং তাহাদের ভাষা ভঙ্গ হওনের বৃত্তান্ত।), pp. 1-53.
- VI. The History of Abraham (আবৰহামের বিবরণ), pp. 1-63.
- VII. The History of Abraham's Posterity, Isaac, Jacob etc. (আবৰহামের বংশ ইশকাহাদির বিবরণ), pp. 1-67.
- VIII. The History of Jacob যাকুবের বিবরণ), pp. 1-65.
- IX. The History of Joseph and his Brethren (যুশফ ও তাহার আত্মগণের বিবরণ), pp. 1-63.

The following short extract from ch. iii, p. 11 will give an idea of its style and language :

শিষ্য। তবে সত্য ভক্তি কেমন মহাশয় ও কি ২ লক্ষণেতে জানা যায়।

গুরু । সতা ভক্তি যে জনেতে থাকে সে আপনার নিতান্ত লাঘবতা জানিয়া নন্দিত্বকরণ হইয়া পরমেশ্বরের গুণ ও কর্ম এবং আপনায় তাহার স্কটস্জকের সম্বন্ধ ও তাহা হইতে আপনার অত্যন্ত হিতপ্রাপ্তি এই সকলের প্রকৃত বোধ করিয়া পরমেশ্বরের নিকট সঙ্কোচপূর্বক প্রেমাকর্ষিত হইয়া পূজাদি দ্বারা আপনার সেই প্রেম ও কৃতার্থ জ্ঞান দেখাইতেছে এবং তাহার এই মত করা অতি কর্তব্য জানিয়া তাহার অন্য অন্য ফলাফলের কিছু ধর্মাধর্মের কিছু উজান করে না তাহার চিন্তা কেবল যে আপনার পূজাদি যেন ঈশ্বরের গ্রহণ যোগ্য হয়।

শিষ্য । এ অতি পরমা ভক্তি গুরো আর বুঝি যে হাবল (Abel) তিনি এমত ভক্তি ছিলেন।

গুরু । হে শিষ্য যে ভক্তি আমি বর্ণনা করিয়াছি মে তো সাধারণ ভক্তি এবং পাপী নিষ্পাপী সকল জীবেতেই যোগ্য ও আবশ্যক বটে কিন্তু পাপিজীবের ভক্তি যাহাতে যোগ্য ও উচিত ও ঈশ্বরের গ্রাহ হয় তাহার মধ্যে অনেক বিশেষ ভাব চাহে এই মত ভক্তি হাবলে ছিল।

(*To be continued*)

S. K. DE

Politics and Political History in the Mahābhārata II

General political condition of India

The original historical kernel of the great Epic gives us a detailed account of the Kuru rulers of that time and incidentally furnishes us with a contemporary general account of Indian states and clans and it is with this only that we are concerned. Before attempting to show the amount of popular authority and control over their princes or their government we may survey the political condition of India about the time of the Great War.

1. The whole of Northern India was divided into a number of states more or less independent as far as internal government was concerned but acknowledging the suzerainty of the paramount power of the day.

2. That the Madhyadeśa or the region round the Kuru country was regarded as the intellectual and also the cultural centre of the Aryans. The manners and customs of the people of the western border, e.g. those of Madras and Vāhikas, were looked down upon by the people of the central region. On the other hand, Eastern India was regarded as the land of the Śūdras par excellence, and this is apparent from the denunciation of Aṅga by the king of Madra. Aṅga and Vaṅga are described in at least more than one place as being ruled by a *mleccha* prince. In addition to these, some of the ruling Kṣatriya families are regarded as Vrātyas. The Yādavas who were the ruling race in the extreme south were a sort of oligarchic ruling confederation.

The form of government varied. In the west the old Aryan tribal principle was supreme and there were numerous petty states ruled by local princes who were guided in all matters by popular opinion. In the central region, e.g. in the land of the Kurus and Matsyas the rulers were princes in name only. In the Kuru country this popular sovereignty was so great that it is difficult to form easily an impression as to whether the government can be described as a true monarchy at all. It is only in the east that the princes had a greater chance of ruling irresponsibly. The large number of wild tribes differing from each other in language, religion, race and temperament, the large number of elephants, a potent instrument in ancient warfare found there in abundance, the cheapness of other materials required for a fighting force made it easy for the eastern princes to easily raise large armies with which to rule absolutely without even consulting the opinion of his subjects. The Aryan settlers were few and these consisted mainly of the ruling families and their hereditary officials, and hence there was no opposition from them. This made not only absolutism possible but fostered a lust for dominion outside the tribal territory which was the limit of domination in the west and centre of India. To this again must be attributed

the fact that the east was the land where imperialism took its rise—an imperialism which meant something more than mere suzerainty and was nothing less than universal rule to the exclusion of local princes and absolutism to its utmost limit.

In such a state of affairs, Jarāsandha the Magadha king thought of pursuing a policy of blood and iron. He had many allies, the most prominent of whom were Vāsudeva the king of Pundra and Vaṅga, Bhagadatta of Kāmarūpa, and a number of central Indian rulers including the Cedi Śisupāla and some of the Bhoja princes.

I. Having thus described the state of political development we proceed to cite evidence from the great epic in order to show the extent of popular sovereignty in those days. As regards the central region we take the Kuru country and describe its history in detail, because the Mahābhārata records the traditional history of the Kuru country. As to other states we only have some passing reference or some detail only when we are on the eve of the great war. Under the circumstances, lack of information prevents us from giving details as to most of the circumstances, except those relating to the Kurus.

II. For the South we must confine ourselves to the detailed description of the Yādava constitution and narrate some instances from Yādava history as recorded in the Epic to prove our point.

III. Lastly we must conclude by giving some details as to the tribal republics which retained their democratic constitution in the various parts of the country. These as a rule flourished on the frontier regions to the west and north or in the secluded areas. In the Mahābhārata these states are described as *gaṇas*. Of these we shall give a list, and this will be supplemented by short historical notices of each of them. But before we pass on to the other subjects we must make some attempt to describe their general characteristics e.g.

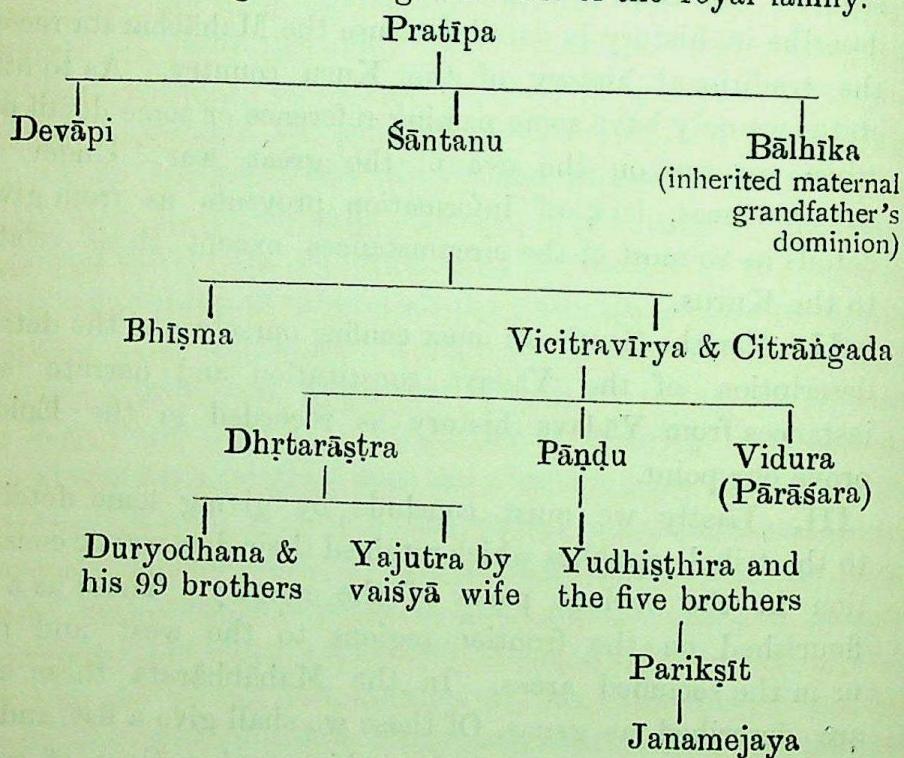
(1) They were outside the influence of their political forces, which operated in the Madhyadeśa.

(2) They were dominated by some tribe or members of one particular caste.

Thus the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Trigarta and some other gaṇas were mainly kṣatriyas. The Vātādhānas and the Mādhyamakeyas were Brāhmaṇa gaṇas, while the Grāmanāṇiyas of the Indus region and the Ābhīras on the bank of the Sarasvatī were Śūdras by caste.

The Kuru Country

To all readers of the Mahābhārata it would be apparent that the epic is primarily the history of the Kuru country; for the historical kernel which forms now only a small fraction of the vast encyclopædia we have the traditional account of the reigns of five generations of the royal family.¹



¹ A complete history of the Kuru line of kings as well as the relation of the Kurus to the earlier Vedic tribes is out of place here. But as we hold that the Mahābhārata is nothing but the traditional history of the Vedic period, we shall try to establish our point elsewhere. In

Now from the account recorded in the great epic we find that in the reign of each of these kings we have some constitutional event of importance to record, and from these we can form an idea as to the extent of popular sovereignty.

Pratīpa had three sons e.g. Devāpi, Bāhlīka, and Sāntanu. Devāpi suffered from some skin disease. When old the king thought of installing Devāpi on the throne and made preparations for his investiture. Thereupon the Brahmins, the old people, and the citizens prevented him. They approached him and said that though the young prince was worthy and otherwise agreeable, he suffered from skin disease and was not acceptable to the gods.

Dissuaded by the force of their argument and the weight of their opinion the king had to give way and abandon the idea of crowning Devāpi. This however made him unhappy and he retired to the forest. On his withdrawal the second son Bālhīka became king for a time, but he too abdicated in favour of his younger brother Sāntanu who was crowned king by the people and the magnates.

Sāntanu's reign otherwise uneventful is marked towards its end by an event of constitutional importance. It was the voluntary abdication of his only legitimate son and heir to the throne the celebrated Bhīṣma. The king being smitten with love for the daughter of a fisherman, and yet not accepting her, on account of the hard terms proposed by the father of the girl, who insisted on the stipulation that the son of his daughter by the king would be the heir to the throne to the exclusion of the virtuous Bhīṣma, was in a difficult position. The dutiful son to fulfil his father's wishes boldly went to the fisherman, and asked him to bestow his daughter on the king, and to remove all objections on his part, he

the paper entitled "Early Indian Chronology" an attempt will be made to identify the rulers of the Kuru line as given in the Mahābhārata (Ādi-parva, Chs. 94 & 95) with the names of princes, where names are found in the Rgveda and the other Samhitās.

voluntarily renounced his claim to the throne in a Sabhā in the presence of the members. The whole story is given in the Ādi-parva, ch. 101. The whole thing took place in the presence of the members of the Sabhā. Śāntanu by this marriage had two sons Chitrāṅgadā and Vicitravīrya. The elder succeeded as king but soon he was killed in a war with the Gandhāras while the faithful Bhīṣma acted as the real ruler of the state, though ever he acted as the servant of the younger brother and administered the state, according to the counsel of his step-mother Satyavatī.

Bhīṣma distinguished himself by his noble and disinterested service to the state and very soon he signalled his devotion by acquiring three brides for his step-brother Vicitravīrya (see Ādi, ch. 96) One of these brides Ambālikā was, however, sent back to her own kinsmen on account of her entreaties that she had chosen the king of Kāśī as her lord.

This however proved a great misfortune for her. The king of Kāśī rejected her since she was the victory prize of another according to the customs of those days. Rejected by both the parties she in revenge implored the assistance of Rāma Jāmadagnya—the great champion of military brahminism, who came to persuade Bhīṣma to take her for one of his brothers. This being refused the two decided to appeal to the supreme arbitration of force and fought for several days.

The combat ended in a draw. The rest of the events is narrated in the Ādi-parva. But here again we meet with another event of constitutional importance which though not mentioned in the Ādi-parva is incidentally narrated in the Udyoga-parva which seems to have preserved the true historical account. In the 129th chapter of that Parva we have an account of the history of the Kuru country recorded by Bhīṣma himself. From that we know that Vicitravīrya who succeeded Śāntanu was too fond of woman and consequently fell a victim to Yakṣma (Phthisis) and consumption, and at the

same time the Kuru country being invaded by the terrible Brahmin warrior Paraśurāma the king was banished by the citizens.

Next a pestilence broke out and carried away a large number of inhabitants and only a small portion of the population survived. There was no king, the government fell into disorder and the misery of the people knew no bounds. Thereupon the people headed by the elders approached Bhīṣma the rightful heir to the throne. They together with Kālī, the wife of Śāntanu (step-mother of Bhīṣma) besought the worthy prince to take up the reins of government and to save the country from destruction.

This however Bhīṣma refused. He reminded them of his vow (which he had taken before the assembly) of celibacy and of renunciation and persuaded the queen-mother to allow the widowed queens of the late sovereign to raise issue by the practice of Niyoga.

Of these three sons the eldest Dhṛtarāṣṭra was not eligible for kingship as he was blind (*Udyoga*, ch. 147, v. 38.). Vidura too was excluded being born of a slave-girl. Pāṇḍu became king though for a time Bhīṣma acted as a real ruler of the country.

Pāṇḍu however soon forsook the world and with his wives spent his time in the forest, making over his kingdom to his blind elder brother though this point is not clear in the account of the Ādi-parva (ch. 119). The story of the handing over of the kingdom to his brother by Pāṇḍu is again put in the 148th chapter in the mouth of Bharadvāja. Drona is the speaker with the statement that the people accepted Dhṛtarāṣṭra as king.

The blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra then became the next king. His claims thus rested on his brother's abdication and gift and popular sanction. Probably this popular support enabled him to rule, for there existed a section of elders, who never recognised him as king (*Udyoga*, ch. 147).

Thus it would appear from the slokas that Dhṛtarāṣṭra

held the throne by virtue of his brother's abdication, and acceptance by the people. Some of the Kuru elders like Drona regarded Dhṛtarāṣṭra as a rightful king, though they never thought of this as constituting a bar to the succession of the Pāṇḍavas. Others like Bhīṣma regarded Dhṛtarāṣṭra as a mere figure-head representing royalty and sought to further the cause of the young prince the son of Pañdu to the exclusion of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's sons.

(*To be continued*)

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJI

The Bhāsa Problem

II

III. Implications of the theory

There are certain implications connected with the theory which the Bhasites make much of and utilise to substantiate it. Because of the importance now attached to them, it behoves us to comment upon them. These implications may be put down to be three in number ; and they are :

(A) the numerous archaisms, the apparently rugged simplicity of diction, and the queerness of Prākṛt are evidences to prove that the 'Bhāsa-Nāṭaka-Cakra' may be assigned to the age of Pāṇini ;

(B) the queer dramatic nomenclature shows that they must have been produced ~~at different times~~ laid down the rules of dramaturgy ~~for the Nāṭya~~ Sastra ;

(C) these dramas, thirteen in number, are the works of one and the same author, Bhāsa. These implications we shall now proceed to consider.

A. *Language evidence*

Mm. Ganapati Sastri praises high the sweet diction of these dramas, especially of Svapna-Vāsavadatta and Pratimānāṭaka, dwells upon the so-called archaic flavour and draws pointed attention to the queerness of Prākṛti. Regarding the first of these, he is so much enamoured of it, that even Kālidāsa, the prince of poets, is, in his opinion, much indebted to him. While we can admire his consistency to his own theory, we regret we cannot bring ourselves to endorse his opinion, unless we yield to the glamour of a theory. Every scholar has his own opinion about literary works, and Mm. Sastri is perfectly entitled to have his own opinion, but when he proceeds to institute comparisons—and all comparisons of master poets are odious—when he proceeds to draw conclusions, when he utilises these comparisons and conclusions to bolster up a theory, it is time ‘to register a protest’ and remind him of the absurdity of his procedure. If the evidence of style is to be used as an argument to prove the age of a work, it behoves the theorist to first analyse the constituent elements of the different styles of the different ages and then to theorise. But no such analysis has yet been attempted, either by the editor, or his faithful adherents. Secondly, the probabilities of borrowing and copying have to be argued and established on a sufficiently satisfactory basis. In these matters mere dogmatic statements are of no value and deserve to be ignored. And lastly, a careful examination of the styles of these plays clearly shows that all the thirteen dramas cannot be assigned to the same age, much less to the same person. Thus while Svapna-Vāsavadatta and Pratimā belong to one type, Avimāraka and Pañcarātra belong to another, if the use of long-winded compounds and of long metres, the concluding of one verse by different speakers, the sacrifice of ideas amidst verbiage are of any significance.

Coming to archaisms, if the presence of non-Pāṇinean forms of words can give any archaic flavour, then these dramas can be said to possess it to a certain extent. But after all, are the

mistakes as many as have been pointed out ? For, of the existing solecisms many are accepted forms. Of the rest a majority may be put down to the illiteracy of the copyists and the actors. Further, the manuscripts of these dramas are after all not so rare, as Min. Sastri seems to imply. A sufficiently large number of copies is available here, and there is scope for a critical edition. And what the exact number is of the so-called archaisms could be settled, only after a variorum edition is prepared. And after all it is very doubtful, if archaic flavour arises out of merely grammatical mistakes, ancient or modern. If not, a drama, which I or you may write could easily be made the most ancient drama.

Coming to Prākṛt, we are afraid that scholars are possibly misled ; for they do not seem to have realised the queer position that Prākṛt has been occupying in Kerala. It must be pointed out and clearly emphasised that here it had only a purely literary and hence artificial existence. While elsewhere in India Prākṛt was being greatly influenced by the local vernaculars, here it never came under that influence. The only influence that was ever brought to bear upon it was that of Pāli, for Buddhism was once, during the early centuries of the Christian era, the religion of the land. Hence it is that the Prākṛt of these dramas appears to be queer. The representative type of this Prākṛt may be found in Dhanañjaya, Samavarana, and Cūḍāmanī, which are purely Kerala productions. The same type is found copied even in the Prākṛt of Śakuntalā and other North Indian dramas, as found preserved in the ancient local manuscripts. Whatever has been said regarding the Prākṛt of the dramas included in the 'Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra' could as well be said of the Prākṛt of Kālidāsa, Harṣa or Bhavabhūti. Hence the queerness of Prākṛt, on which so much appears to have been said, reveals not its antiquity, but its queer position in Kerala.

B. *The peculiar dramatic technique*

The second, and what is apparently the strongest of their

implications is the peculiar dramatic technique of the series of dramas included in the Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra. But so far as we have been able to study them, the so called peculiarity centres round the prologue, and this, it deserves to be pointed out, is certainly queer to the casual reader. However, it is not such as would justify their being assigned to an age before Bharata. The peculiarities are three in number; (1) the opening of the drama with the sentence *nāndyante tataḥ pravīsatī sutradhārāḥ*, (2) the omission of the names of the author and the work, and (3) the use of the term *shāpanā* for *prastāvanā*.

The opening of the dramas of the series with the sentence “*nāndyante*” is made much of by the Bhasites. In drawing the conclusions necessary for their theory they quote the authority of Bāṇa who refers to the works of a Bhāsa in the following verse :

śūtradhārakṛtārambhaiḥ nāṭakair bahubhūmikaiḥ,
 sapatākair yaśo lebhe bhāso devakulair iva.

Interpreting this verse as lying down the characteristics of Bhāsa's dramas, they say that the first characteristic is opening the drama with the Sūtradhāra. Since the Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra opens with the Sūtradhāra, they say that this is an incontrovertible proof of Bhāsa's authorship. Even granting such an interpretation is correct, it has first to be settled as to which Bhāsa Bāṇa is referring to, the ancient one or the modern one. We incline to the view that Bāṇa is referring to his own contemporary, rather than to the predecessor of Kālidāsa. And after all what does Bāṇa mean ? Unless and until we have at least one authentic drama of Bhāsa Bāṇa refers to, we cannot be quite certain of the exact significance of this verse. In the absence of anything authentic we can interpret it only in its natural way. We believe, and many local Pandits also are of the same opinion, that Bāṇa is here concerned only with the statement of the fact that Bhāsa has acquired fame by writing dramas, as much fame as he earned by building temples, and not with the laying down of

the peculiarities of Bhāsa's dramas. The three common qualifications cannot have much significance attached to them, for every drama has practically these three qualifications : it is the Sūtradhāra that opens it, there are many characters, and every drama has a *Patākā* incident or a *Patākā-sthāna*. In using these adjectives we believe that Bāṇa is only satiating his love of *śleṣa*. In view of this, the statement of Bāṇa could not be squeezed to yield any historical support for the Bhāsa theory, since, as it is, it is vague and indefinite for all historical purposes.

If at all any significance deserves to be attached to the opening words of these dramas, it is only this much : viz., that these dramas open not with the usual Nāndī-Sūtradhāra but with the Kathā-Sūtradhāra and that the dramatists' benedictory verse is sung not by the former, but by the latter. Dramaturgy demands two Sūtra-dhāras, one to perform the Nāndī and the other to announce the play. And Bharata himself has suggested a line of economy, when he says that both the Sūtradhāras have the same cast of character. In a place where there is a thriving theatre, it is but natural that the actors will try to reduce the characters to the lowest limit possible. This will necessarily be a practice, when convention has ceased their work in demanding a full and regular Nāndī only on the opening day, and not subsequently, even when the drama is changed, provided the representation runs on the same stage without a break. Such a procedure—and it is so as far as the local stage is concerned—makes one overlook the intimate connection that exists between the Nāndī ceremony and the staging of a play. This, then, the local stage tradition is sufficient explanation for the opening of these dramas in that peculiar way. So strong has been the force of this tradition, that in ancient manuscripts here, every drama opens thus : even Śākuntalā is no exception. In view of this, all theorising from such an opening becomes irrelevant ; if not, the number of Bhāsa's dramas could be easily swelled.

Another peculiarity of the Prologue, which the Bhasites point out and utilise to establish their theory, is the omission of the names of the author and the play. The explanation suggested and accepted (?) by them is that these thirteen dramas had come into existence before the practice of giving names came into vogue. This is only begging the question. We believe for a *prima facie* reason that these dramas have omitted these two, because they have no definite author and no definite name. Regarding Svapna-Vāsavadatta, enough has already been said to show that it is only an adaptation, and hence nobody could claim its authorship. The same, we hold, is true of Cārudatta. Coming to the indefiniteness of names, we find that Svapna-Vāsavadatta has three names—Svapna-Nāṭaka, Svapna-Vāsavadatta and Vāsavadatta-Nāṭaka ; Cārudatta is also known as Daridra Cārudatta, Pratimā Nāṭaka as Vicchinnābhiseka and Pādukābhiseka, Karnabhāra as Karnakavaca, Dūtavākyā as Śrīkrṣṇadūta. In the case of Avimāraka, Bālacakita, Abhiṣeka and Pratijñā, one manuscript, the oldest in the local library, gives no names at all. This variety of names may probably be taken as an indication that the dramas are not genuine, but only adaptations. Since adaptations by their nature cannot have any names connected with them, the absence of names only proves their anonymity and not their antiquity.

In this connection I may be permitted to refer to another practice of the local professional actors ; namely, the practice of giving a short introduction, when they change one scene of one drama to another of another drama. This introduction consists of a benedictory stanza and a short Cūrṇikā to announce the character that first appears on the stage, or the incident which is described in the scene to be enacted, and may be termed for want of a better expression 'Inter-Prologue.' Such Inter-Prologues, one Cākyar, tells me they have for every one of the scenes they are trained to act. When a number of such 'Inter-Prologues' is obtain-

ed—and I have made arrangements for it—it may likely turn out that the editor's so-called Prologues are nothing but 'Inter-Prologues'¹. In which case it may be seen that the so-called peculiarity may only be the result of local stage tradition, and not a proof of antiquity.

Now coming to the last of the prologue peculiarities the use of *STHĀPANA* for *PRASTĀVANĀ*, in the first place it deserves to be pointed out that the local ancient manuscripts uniformly use only *Sthāpanā* and not *Prastāvanā*, whether they be the dramas included in the Bhāsa-Nāṭaka-Cakra or not. And such a usage is also sanctioned by Bharata. For the sentence "prastāvanāṁ tataḥ kuryāt" there is found a variant which runs "sthāpanāṁ ca tataḥ kuryāt". The usage of *Sthāpanā* instead of *Prastāvanā* in Kerala manuscript is, therefore, not a sign of antiquity, but this only shows that the Malayalees have accepted the second of the readings. And this, however, suggests a better critical taste for in what precedes Bharata says "sthāpakah praviśet tatra." Hence the use [of the term *Sthāpanā* is also no argument in support of the Bhāsa theory.

C. Unity of authorship

The third of the implications, which is both a conclusion of, and an argument for, the theory is that all these thirteen dramas are the works of one and the same author, the renowned Bhāsa of old. This has already been invalidated, because ancient Bhāsa has not been yet proved to have written a drama named *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, and because Mm. Sastri's *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* is not genuine. We shall, therefore, in this section content ourselves with an examination of the nature of the argument by which Mm. Sastri tries to establish it.

¹ The opening verse of the Inter-Prologue to announce the change to *Sephālikāṇka*, act IV of *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, is given in my notes to the translation of *Dūta-Gnat*. Vide the Shama, vol. iv, no. 2, pp. 141-142.

The only argument that he has brought up is the presence of common sentences and verses. This is at best only a very dubious kind of evidence, when it is remembered that our professional actors, who have been acting all these thirteen dramas, are not very scrupulous in borrowing. They are and have always been quite ready to appropriate to themselves any good verse they come across anywhere¹; and because their hand is seen in these dramas, common expressions cannot be taken as an argument for unity of authorship. Secondly, the one principle that underlies Mm. Sastri's process of reasoning is the improbability of the Hindu writers being plagiarists. If Mm. Sastri accepts this principle as regards all standard writers and not merely of Bhāsa, we are forced to come to just the opposite conclusion. An examination of the prologue of Śakti Bhadra's Cudāmanī shows that there also is the sentence 'mayi vijñāpanavyagre'. And we believe it is a saner and more legitimate conclusion to assign these dramas to Śakti Bhadra than to presume that Śakti Bhadra has plagiarised from authorless and nameless dramas. This is enough we hope to prove the hollowness of Mm. Sastri's unity of authorship. In our opinion the presence of common sentences is a powerful argument to prove that these dramas are all playwrights' adaptations, made to meet the popular craving for new plays in the days, when the local Sanskrit stage was in a flourishing state.

Enough has now been said to prove that the implications connected with the theory stand on grounds as flimsy as those on which the theory is built up. The apparent peculiarities that we see in these dramas are not a sign of

¹ A striking illustration of this can be found in the Rāmāyaṇa Prabandham, which is composed of all the good verses in all the kāvyas and dramas which describe the story of Rāma. Tradition says that Mahānāṭakam also is of the same type.

antiquity ; they are only a proof of their intimate connection with the local orthodox stage.

IV. Bhāsa-Nāṭaka Cakra renamed Kerala-Nāṭaka-Cakra

A study of the Kerala stage and its sources, as far as now available, shows that the dramas that have been or are popular on our stage are the following¹ : (1) Dhanañjaya (ii) Saṃvaraṇa, (iii) Cūḍāmaṇi, (iv) Nāgānanda, (v) Bhagavādajjuka, (vi) Mattavilāsa Prahasana, (vii) Kalyāṇa Saughāṇṭika, (viii) Śrī Kṛṣṇa Carita, (ix) Vicchinnābhiṣeka, (x) Mahānāṭaka, and (xi)-(xxiii) the thirteen dramas of the so-called Bhāsa-Nāṭaka-Cakra. Of these, the first four, the seventh, the tenth and Pratimānāṭaka, locally known as Pādukābhiṣeka, Abhiṣekanāṭaka, also known as Valia-Abhiṣekam, and Mantraka of Pratijñā yaugandharāyaṇa are popular on our stage even to-day. The fifth must have been very popular here because a Cakyar's recension, with complete directions as how to act it, is available². The eighth is not yet available, though some actors say it is none other than Mm. Sastri's Bālacakita. This, however, is popular, because one act of this is well-known to them as Mallāṅka. Regarding the rest the various names given by Cakyars to the various acts are sufficient proof of their stage popularity ; for instance, Bhrama-Cāriāṅka, Pantāttāṅka, Pūttudāṅka, Sephālikāṅka, Svapnāṅka and Citraphalakāṅka of Svapna-Vāsavadatta ; Anoṭtāṅka, Dūtāṅka, Abhisarāṅka, Parvāṅka, and Māḍamettāṅka of Avimāraka ; Vettāṅka, Bhīṣma-dūtāṅka of Pañcarātra ; Bālivadha, Torāṇayuddha,

¹ Nos. 3 and 4 are unpublished. Transcripts are being prepared with a view to publication. The ninth tradition acribes to the last of the Perumals, Bhāskara Ravi Varmā. It is unknown, but I incline to believe that it is none other than Pratimā, the first act of this is locally called Vicchinnābhiṣeka.

² A manuscript copy of this has been promised me by a Cakyar and I expect soon to have a copy of it.

Hanumaddūtāṅka, Māyā Sītāṅka and Abhiṣekāṅka of Abhiṣeka ; Vicchinnābhiṣekāṅka, Vilāpāṅka, Pratimāṅka, Adavyamaṅka, Rāvaṇāṅka, Bharatāṅka and Abhiṣekāṅka of Pratimā : Mahāsenāṅka, Mantrāṅka, Arāttāṅka of Pratijñā ; all the one act dramas, the Cakyars say, are used to be acted and is further proved by the fact that a manuscript, containing select scenes to be acted in a temple in Travancore has selections from these dramas¹. But so far I have not been able to gain any clue regarding the stage popularity of Cārudatta. But because this also is found together with the rest of the series in the local manuscripts, and such manuscripts the Cakyars term 'Nāṭakamālā', we may presume that also must once have been stage popular. And, when it is also remembered that all these thirteen dramas are found only in Kerala, and that in the houses of Cakyars or their patrons, that many copies of them offering a wonderful variety of readings are available even now, one may come to the legitimate conclusion that these are only dramas prepared for our stage some being original productions², such as Cūḍāmaṇi and others, playwrights' adaptations, such as Svapna-Vāsavadatta. In view of this, I make bold to suggest that the series may be renamed Kerala-Nāṭaka-Cakra.

I am now come to the end of my paper. In conclusion I wish to be permitted to point out that though the Bhāsa theory has been exploded, Mm. Sastri's services to the cause of Sanskrit are not to be belittled. It deserves to be rightly emphasised that but for his efforts, and here he was and is laudably encouraged by the Government of

¹ Now in the possession of my esteemed friend Mr. A. K. Pisharodi, Trivandrum.

² It appears to be very significant that the authentic dramas in the series have no names for the various acts except Cūḍāmaṇi the acts of which are named. Cannot this be taken as suggesting this anonymity ?

Travancore, this series of dramas would not have seen the light of day, at least not so early. And especially the thanks of all Malayalees are due to him, for it was reserved for him, a foreigner in the land, to open our eyes to this glorious heritage left by our forefathers. We also thank him for his theory, for otherwise it is unlikely that Sanskritists would have turned to these dramas so earnestly. Thus for more than one reason he deserves our thanks and this I offer unto him in the name of all Malayalees.

K. R. PISHAROTI

The Stotra Literature of Old India

Man's entry into the world launches him at once into a state of submission and surrender to cosmic forces ; and this is true as much of man as an individual, as of his being an entity of a group or a group of interests. And it is a paradox that his strength lies in and arises out of this inherent weakness of his. There can be no greater proof of this inevitable fact than what we meet with in literature. The earliest literature of India, and for the matter of that, of the human species—in which, however, man is far from primitive and shows a varied substratum of culture—contains indelible traces of how the primary (immediate) feelings of the poet in him open out a vista of grandeur and sublimity, a scene of sweetness and serenity, in which he himself shines best in the *role* of an humble and cheerful devotee. It may seem dogmatic to assert that the Vedic Aryan's religion was feeling, pure and simple at the early stage of its manifestation—and it is now unanimously held by scholars that *Rgvedic Samhita* is a composition of different states of consciousness of varying degrees, the product of many centuries of thought or prayer—that his *Upasana* was *upa āsana*, literally sitting near, near his worldly environment as well as his supermundane mind but it is nevertheless true, as true as any psychological truth. Equipped with a rosy view of life and its relations, and not cowed down into sullen renunciation, born of disgust and despair, which has found

a significant expression in proverbs of a later age such as *namas tat karmabhyo vidhir api na yebhyah prabhavati*, the Vedic Aryan approaches his gods with meek submission, intertwines them with his own self, and gathers strength on and on. Many a *Stotra*¹, *Udgīta*, *Ukha*, *Sastra*, *Stoma* may be cited to show how this spirit of submission, little affected or caused by a layer of imbedded intellectuality, operated as the factor in his religious life.

But this was not long to be. He could ill help participating in the fruits of the "Forbidden Tree" and with the dawn of intellectuality in him, life assumed a sterner and more exacting aspect. His religious leaning did not become sullen, sombre all at once; it became more practical, of the more matter of the world type. His gods became less 'transcendent', more needy, watchful and sensitive, greater task-masters, and with the lapse of time, as he fancied, less ready helpers to him. From *karma* or *kratu* (Gr. *kratos*)—assiduously carried on through the sacrifices, an attention to which forms a striking element in the evolution of the mind of the Vedic *ṛsi* (seer), sacrifices, as bargain with the gods at stipulated prices, a surrender to which as a religious factor or mystic speculation is conspicuous in the *Brahmanas*, and in the bulk of the *Sūtra* literature,—to the *naiṣkarṇyasiddhi* hinted at in the *Upaniṣads* and insisted on as a *sine qua non* in the many philosophical *sūtras* or to the revolt from the orthodox ways of thinking and doing, which culminated in other rationalistic forms of religion is a long but a logical step to step way, of which the *modus operandi*, the incidental and accidental causes do not concern us here. A cursory glance at the process by which hymns, the primary religious feeling-note in which is too obvious to escape notice, were incorporated in (and, of course, preserved through) and subordinated to sacrifices, or were regularly and ingeniously introduced into the less formal daily practices² of the average Hindu, would go to prove how *dharma* was going to lose its vocation, so to say,

1 RV. I. 5. 8 ; X. 58. 11 ; etc. *Yad enam ṛgbhilā śamsanti yajurbhir yajanti sāmabhilā stuventi*—Yāska. *Śatarudriya* is a collection of 100 *udgīthas* later used for other purposes (e. g. *Śānti* and phallic worship in *Sivapurāṇa*).

2 Cf. Śaunaka's *Rgvidhāna* for a full reference to these applications. Cf. also his statement at the beginning of the work; *ṛsibhir vividhā mantrā dīśṭā dr̥ṣṭaproyajanāḥ* and his ingenious attempt to in-

becoming more and more a matter of the intellect, speculations often grotesque and fantastic, in a word, losing hold of its universal sway. The incidental references in the *Brahmanas*, the *Upanisads*, the *Gṛhya* and *Śrauta Sūtras* would convince us that the hymns had well-nigh foregone their appealing nature, they had become stereotyped into implements of almost as much avail as the *udukhala*, *muṣala*, *soma*, etc.; or lost themselves into a catechism of symbols, charm and incantations, their part wherein was growing more and more subordinate and supplementary. The heavenly heroes, the shining ones (*devāḥ*), be they the transformations of living gods or the personifications of pantheistic forces, were fast fading away, and the mind of the average Hindu, perhaps as much as that of his more gifted and intelligent brethren, was yearning for something of a concrete manifestation, in which he could well satiate his growing thirst for the quest of the Infinite.

This period of stress and strain was followed by one, in which the rational element had to tone itself down to give scope to the so long latent tendencies of devotional fervour and personal submission. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* came as welcome relief,—as nucleus to the then budding modes of thought as reflected in literature. But they could not satisfy the yearning they were called on to; they only intensified it, for in spite of their professed treatment of the living heroes, their heritage of and close participation in the tendencies of the preceding age (one of them even categorically styles itself the fifth *Veda*) could well be looked upon as disqualifications. It is in the *Purāṇas* which have carried to a degree of nicety the concrete, narrative and active tendencies of the two great epics that the old Hinduism of feeling and fervour re-asserted itself. The stereotyped forms and practices of the preceding age left little room for real worship—the efficiency of *Pranava*³ and of the *Gāyatrī*

corporate the *pañcamahāvratas* (*Kṛcchra*, *Parāka* etc.) of the later monastic codes into the Vedic ritualistic system.

3 Cf. the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* III. 12. So also in *Chāndogya* I. 1; I. 5. The ingeneous way of rather allegorical or symbolic interpretations given to them in the earlier *Upaniṣads* go to prove that they were going to lose their old esteem in the eyes of even the intelligent: *sameṣṭasya khalu sāmna upāsanam sādhu yat khalu sādhu tat sāmetyācakṣate yad asādhu tad asāmeti.....Kalpānte cāsmai lokā*

was insisted on ; but nothing further could be done with the old *stotras* or hymns. They could not be divested of the heap or crust of wild speculations gathered over them ; and, with the lapse of time and the prevalence of current speech (*bhāṣā*), they were becoming unintelligible to the masses. Something more was necessary to fill in the gap and have the ground for real popular *upāsanā*. Thus the *Stotra* literature was resuscitated and got a new lease of life granted to it. The philosophical doctrines of transmigration, cycle of existences, of *karma* and salvation were availed of in the theory of incarnation (*avatāra-vāda*), which formed a stable plank in the *Paurāṇika* theology and an abiding place for sentiments of humility and submission. The code of worship was revised in the light of these ideas and ideals, and included *vandanā*, of which *Stava-stuti* ere long formed an essential ingredient. The *Purāṇas* became charged with this spirit of devotional fervour—the angle of vision as to life was changed and even literature of professedly secular type (e. g. the *Kāvya* poetry), bedewed itself with this spirit. As apt instances, indicating the tendencies which have ever since been harped on by generations of poets, we may cite the two *Stavas* by the gods of the Supreme Being in Kālidāsa's *Raghu* and *Kumāra*, the *Stavas* of the great Mahādeva by Arjuna in the closing canto of the *Kirātārjunīya*, that of Kṛṣṇa by Bhīṣma in canto XIV of the *Śisupūlavadha*, of the long *stava* (extending over 164 verses) of the great Caṇḍī by the gods in Rājānaka Ratnākara's *Haravijaya* (canto XLVII).

The *Tantra* literature with its many manifestations and cogent adjuncts carried on the torch of popular and devotional religion and was thus a parallel phase with the *Purāṇas* in this direction. The *Tantras*, in spite of the mysticism of their basic principles and the queer, irregular, often illegitimate character of their rites and practices, got hold over the popular mind from about the third century A. D. because of the wide franchise they preached in religious matters—(man irrespective of his caste, creed and sex could be an initiate in the *Tantrik* order),—and of the novel mode of thinking they represented as distinctly opposite to the liturgical spirit of later Vedic Hinduism. The *Vastu* as much as the *Puruṣa Tantra*s were availed of with avidity by saints and philosophers all over the country, and man's outer environment, and his material aggrandisement, no less than his inner

ūrdhvāścāvṛttasca ya etad evam vidvān lokeśu pañcavidham sāmopaste.
Cf. also the *Taittirīyopaniṣad*, *Śiksādhyāya*, *Anuvāka* 5.

spirit and final (great) liberation became real entities in the counter of the religious devotee. The *Purāṇas*, which in their earlier phases of evolution were almost confined to the theory of culmination in *Bhakti*-spirit, must have been influenced by this growing *Tantrik* creed, as in many of them we find the same strain and importance laid on the worship of gross cosmic forces. All this coupled with an ever-sustaining belief in the influences of the planets (*grahas*), the most direct and visualised (*dṛṣṭa*) agents of man's outer environment, gave an impetus to the humble and resourceful spirit of prayer, and produced a mass of religious hymns, which have vied in intensity of feeling and sincerity of purpose with the earlier hymns of the inspired sages and outnumbered them in volume and value. The *Varman* (armour) an exquisite instance of which is the *Nārāyaṇavarman*¹ in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, and the *Kavaca* (lit. coat of mail) in its many categories, such as the *bala*-*akṣū*, *vajrapāñjara* *trailokya-vijaya*, *ābadu* *dhāra*, *mṛtyuñjaya*, *graha-sānti*, with their *japas* of mystic syllables (*bijas*), which, again, in a later age and with more sensitive temperament, were replaced by *Kirtana*², is to the orthodox Hindu as much a part of his *Stotra* literature, as the more poetic, contemplative, less practical and monotonous pieces and have exercised no less an influence in the framing of the complex tissue of Hindu social and moral life.

The manuscript collections, which are now being rather assiduously made in the different parts of India, afford testimony to the wealth and universality of this literature. We in Bengal very rarely find a load of disintegrated book-units, in which there is not an index or appendage of *Stotras*, serving as the family reference book for familiar every-day use. It would be idle ingenuity to explain this fact away by saying that these collections do, more often than not, come from *Brāhmaṇa-paṇḍit* families and represent the

¹ *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, VI. 8.

² Cf. The instructions about *japa*, *stava*, etc. in the *Tantrasāra*—*Japaniṣṭho dvijaśrestho' khilayajñaphalam labhet*. The efficacy of *Paurāṇik* and *Tantric mantras* as contrasted with the nonefficacy of earlier hymns and syllables ascribed to the Vedic *ṛsis* is a constantly harped on theme in the writings of these ages, Cf. *Mahānirvaṇatantra*, II. 14&16 :—It is superfluous to add that the *mantras* in this text mean *stotras* as well ; for there is hardly any *Tantrik* work or mode of worship which does not mention hymns as essential requisites.

sum-total of what they were called upon to use and cite in the quest of their maintenance. That is a point contradicted by history as much as by the rigid tradition of many a family, which has chosen to die away rather than take to *yājana* as a means of subsistence. Moreover, many of the *Stotras* preserved in such collections, being *anārṣeya* and recognised in standard ritualistic works of the Paurāṇik period, could hardly have been meant to be stereotyped for such use. It was individualistic tendencies that gave them being, and strange as it may seem to assert, it was individualistic appeal again that guaranteed them currency and life. The hundreds of copies, analogues, amplifications, etc. in this department of literature that have taken little notice even of the change in the outlook on life, afford proofs, if proofs are necessary, of this fact ; indeed, the soil of India has ever been congenial for the springing up of these tendencies. Besides the *Purāṇas*, amongst which the *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu*, *Mārkandeya*, *Padma*, *Skanda*, *Bhāgavata*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Harivamśa*, *Devībhāgavata* and the *Bhavisyottara* may be singled out as the store-houses of these *Stotras*, the *Tantras*, of which the *Jñāna-saṅkalinī*, *Mahānirvāṇa*, *Prapañcasāra*, *Brahmayāmala*, *Rudrayāmala*, *Vārāhi*, *Bhairava*, *Viśvasūra*, *Sāradātilaka*, and in later times, the *Nilatantra*, *Tantrasāra* may be regarded as fair specimens, contain the occasional classical-unitary *Stotras* like the *Mahimnah-stotra* and *Mukundamālā*. There must have been collections and compilations (as is evident from a cursory glance at their grouping in works like the *Tantrasāra* and the *Pūjānibandhas*, of lesser stotras of doubtful authorship handed down to us from a remote date. The *Bṛhatstotra ratnākara*, *Bṛhatstotramuktāhāra*, and *Bṛhatstavakavacamālā*¹ (which, by the bye, is a fairly exhaustive collection and is far better edited and arranged than many other works printed in Bengal), each of which has run into several editions, only testify to the value the average Hindu still attaches to this department of literature.

A mere glance at the index of these printed anthologies is sure to lead us to the impression that the old division of *Pañca Devatā*² (that the so-called Paurāṇik Trinity was more or less a philosophical or theoretical doctrine is evident from the study of the code of worship of these days ; indeed, as is well known, one of these

¹ *Āryadharma-granthāvalī*, III (8th ed.-Calcutta).

² Cf. *Ganesamahimnah Stotra*.

three deities *Brahmā* was almost given the go-by, and the paucity or rather lack of *stotras* addressed to him in his personal capacity and the absence of a cult associated with him are sufficient evidences thereof)—has been a working hypothesis and a worked up plan all along. Gaṇapati, or in his more familiar South Indian name *Dhūndirājā* has got a tolerable number of *stotras* dedicated to him—he is *Jyestha*, *Kapila*, *Cintamāṇi*, *Mayūrēśa*, *Siddhiāāt*, *Vināyaka*, *Vighnarāja*, *Vighnāntaka*, *Śeṣaputra*, *Pārvataputra*¹. Then comes Sūrya or Savitṛ with his old Vedic and neo-Vedic associations but with more of flexibility and materialism. He is best represented in the later Paurāṇik *Ādityahṛdaya* of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, a classic in point of real poetry, and a memorable *Stotra* by way of the indication of the different phases of *Vedic*, *Paurāṇik* and *Tantrik* conception in the culmination of the idea of the Great Being. With him is tagged the group of the other minor *Grahas*, who are often regarded as his manifestations (Cf. the *Ādityahṛdaya* itself²) and who typify the influences of the cosmic forces on man. The place of honour seems to be divided between the other three, Śiva, Śakti and Viṣṇu, though one is tempted to give the laurel to Śiva, seeing that he is best represented in devotional lyric literature; and as an analogue of Rudra of the Vedic pantheon, he has acquired in the Paurāṇik period more appealing, spiritual and agreeable characteristics, and has risen to the highest position amongst gods in many of the hymns addressed to him. He is *māheśa*, *mahādeva*, *śaṅkara*, *vīrēśvara*, *paśupati* as much as he is *rudra*, *mahākāla*, *hara*, *sthānu*, *śūlapāṇi*. The wisest and strongest, including the greatest gods Brahmā and Viṣṇu, the terrible demon Rāvaṇa, lord of Laṅkā, and saintly seers amongst men, legendary and historical, such as Vyāsa and Śaṅkara, are said to have offered their heart's devotion to him.³ Viṣṇu rises out of his Vedic nucleus into the greatest of the gods; he is far ahead of the other Paurāṇik deities, incarnate in no less than ten forms, each of which receives its share of offering from the devotional lyrists, and among which Rāma has a unique place with his

¹ Ibid. Also *Ganesāstottaraśatanāmastotra*. Similar references hold good for other gods. Not improbably Paurāṇik Gaṇapati was moulded out of the Vedic Brahmanaspati or Br̥haspati (Cf. RV., II, 23, 1).

² Verses 34-39.

³ Cf. the *Śivatāṇḍava-stotra*; *Brahmakṛta Śivastotra*, etc.

relations, friends and devotees including the great monkey General Mahāvīra Hanūmat,—and in the form Kṛṣṇa, transcending all limitations of an *avatāra*, and standing, second only, if at all, to Śiva, in point of the place occupied by him in this literature. The two *stavas* of Viṣṇu's ten incarnations current in Bengal—the one¹ by Jayadeva, the melodious bard of Lakṣmaṇa Sena's time, the other of unknown authorship but apparently pre-Muhammadan—form a type by themselves. We have other *stavas* where each *avatāra* of Viṣṇu (with the doubtful exception of Buddha² who has had, however, *stavas* dedicated to him in Buddhist literature) is invoked separately. He is the *brahmaṇyadeva*, *nīrāyaṇa*, *puruṣa*, *acyuta*, *hari*, *govinda*; again he is the *trivikrama* of Vedic fame, *jagannātha* of eternal sanctity, and *pāndurāṅga* of the Deccan. Śakti with her manifold names of the *Purāṇa* and the *Tantra* has hundreds of *stavas* to her credit. She is the mother of the universe with sixteen names and functions; she is *mahiśamardini*, *dakṣinākalikā* and *vagalāmukhi*³. Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī are sometimes described as her daughters; while the latter has got *stotras*, not many, addressed to her, the former, the goddess of speech, is very poor in eulogies in her honour in later times.⁴ Minor deities of the later Purāṇas (such as *Saṃsthū*, *Śitalā*, *Manasā*, *Vāstudeva*), that have been born of

1 *Ādāya vedāḥ etc.* quoted in the *Sāradātilaka* and found also in the *Tantrasāra*. The 'Bhujaṅgaprayātastotra' attributed to Śaṅkara is presumably a later production.

2 Cf. Poussin's *Way to Nirvāṇa*, p. 6—"But it happens that an ascetic, for instance, the Buddhist of the *Mahāyāna* school, believes that gods or deified saints may help him towards the path, or even in climbing along the first slopes of the path: prayer and worship are, in such a case, useful or even necessary."

3 As the Śāktānandatarāṅginī puts it, she, being the *mahādevī*, enters into all forms as *Sarasvatī*, *Lakṣmī*, *Gāyatrī*, *Tripurasundarī*, *Annapūrṇā* and into her more popularly known manifestations, the *daśamahāvidyās*. There are but *avatāras* of the great *Brahman*, *tanus* in the language of the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*. *Ibid.*, *Ullāsā IV*, 12 and 16; she is the prototype of the Vedic deities *Srī*, *Vāc*, etc.

4 We have both direct and indirect invocations of her in the Vedic hymns. (e. g. x, 58). The Tāntrik *stava* of Sarasvatī, *hṛīm hṛīm hṛīdyekabije śaśirucikamalabhrājāmāne vimāne etc.* translated by A. Avalon in the *Hymn to the Goddess* and that of her as part and parcel of

the synthesis of the Paurāṇik and the Tāntrik orders have their share ; even the rivers of India (consistently with the custom of the Vedic *ṛsis* but more directly and significantly) such as the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Godāvarī, the Narmadā and the localised deities such as *Viśvanātha*, *Annapūrṇā*, *Maṇikarṇikā*, *Kālabhairava*, *Dāṇḍapūrṇi*, *Veikāṭeśa*, *Śrīraṅganātha* are recipients of devotional offerings in the shape of fine *stotras*.

While the task of compiling and arranging these *Stotras* has thus been comparatively easy, the task of allocating them to their proper time and authors is by no means an easy one. The inherent difficulty of the historian of Sanskrit literature has been increased here for at least two obvious reasons,—first, the writers of most of these gems of lyrics cared little for making themselves known even by their names, whom several of whom use *nom-de-plumes* ; secondly, there was hardly much scope for a close study of many of them, for readers are liable to miss their real nature (and the charm is broken) when they are brought within the range of the intellect. But it would be unfortunate if we are to dismiss them altogether as things of never-to-be-determined origin. On the other hand, the internal and external evidences regarding many of them, and the direct testimony from some of them, especially of late origin, do actually help us in surmounting difficulties on this head ; and contrary to general apprehensions, it would seem that the bulk of these productions, about sixty per-cent of them, dates backwards from about the 12th century, that is, are pre-Muhammadan, while not a few of them can claim a still remoter antiquity (from the 8th to the 10th century). From the standpoint of their age, these lyrics may conveniently be divided into the following groups :—(i) Those that are found in the inexhaustible store-houses of the *Purūṇas*, *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, *Nāradapañcarātra* and the *Tantras*—it would be idle to dispute the fact that at least three-fourths of such lyrics are pre-Muhammadan. (ii) No less than hundred *stotras*, which are fathered on the great Saṅkarācārya. It would be the height of temerity to assert that not one of them came from the great Vedantist philosopher of the 8th century, for to compose *Stotras*, dealing with many gods and goddesses is certainly a thing not irreconcilable with holding a brief for undiluted mōṇism,—indeed it is held by many that no less than

Tripurā in the *Prapañcasāra* (VIII, 64 76.) (Vanivilas Press edn.) form notable exceptions.

half a dozen¹ are from his pen. It goes without saying however that the majority came from later Śaṅkarācāryas, later teachers belonging to the school of the great philosopher, and often, the occupants of the places of honour in the several *mathas*, and even from people who have had no pretensions to that title and concealed their littleness of status and learning under the shelter of a great name². (iii) The relatively few classical *stotras* like *Śivamahimnāḥ stotra* of Puṣpadanta (the *Ganēśa mahimnāḥ stotra*, though ascribed to Puṣpadanta is presumably of later redaction, and the *Viṣṇumahimnāḥ stotra* does not even profess to claim the antiquity of being associated with Puṣpadanta) and the *Mukundamālā* of the king Kulaśekhara. Puṣpadanta or Kuśumadaśana (the apparently plausible surmise of a

1 The hymn to the Gaṅgā (*Bhagavati tava tīre nīramātrāśano'ham* etc. pp. 101-103, vol. 18), that to Annapūrṇā (nityānandakarī etc., pp. 75-78, vol. 18), even now sung during the ārati of the great mother at Benares, the *Vedasāra Śiva* stotra in *Bhujaṅgaprāyāta* metre (pp. 71-73, vol. 17), the *Carpaṭapañjarikā* hymn, the *Ānanda-laharī* (pp. 125-50, vol. 17) and that excellent short gem the *Kāśīpañcaka* (pp. 143-44, vol. 18) may safely be ascribed to the great Vedantist himself.

2 Cf. the names Ādiśaṅkara, Abhinavaśaṅkara etc. as names of these writers. The *birudas* (appellations) dravidāśiśu, śaikaramūrti, bhagavat, found in some of these hymns may serve to distinguish them from many of their inferior imitations. We should, however, be on our guard against the universal ascription of authorship on each ground ; for titles and claims of honour have been in the past, as they are now, assumed and served to conceal persons rather than to identify them. The *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Jahlaṇa (13th century A. D.) ascribes the following verse to Rājaśekhara (probably the reference is to the dramatist and rhetorician) :—

Shtitā mādhvīkapākatvānnisargamadhurā'pi hi,
Kimapi svadate vāñī keśāñcid yadi Śaṅkari.

The verse brings to a head the controversy about the different Śaṅkaras and hints at the fact that more than one Śaṅkara preceded him and wrote *stotras* in this new style (pāka). As an apt instance of internal evidence throwing doubts about the authorship we have the verse in the *Viṣṇusatpādī* (satyapi bhedāpagame nātha tavāham) which one may justly hesitate to ascribe to the great Vedāntist. The Tantrik writer Śaṅkara of Bengal forms a separate class by himself ; to him to have been ascribed a few *stotras* of indifferent merit.

writer in the Indian Antiquary of only a few years ago that his name was Grahila is only a perverted way of taking the text and has been due perhaps to the editor of the *Yaśastilaka* *cāṇḍū* printing the word in bold types)¹ cannot be assigned a date earlier than the 7th century and later than the middle of the 10th century A. D.². If the tradition current about him at Benares³ has any foundation of reality and if the last verse in *anuṣṭubh*⁴ metre had been originally a part of the *Stotra* itself, then there comes no difficulty in assigning him at least to the early decades of the 9th century. *Mukundamālā* is quoted in the *Sāhityadarpana* of Viśvanātha as a well-known composition⁵. (iv) The *Śatakas* like the *Devī Śatka* of Ānandavardhana, the *Candīśatka* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the well-known *Sūryasatka* of the poet Mayūra, all of which represent a fixed type of literary tendency and belong to the purely or obtrusively literary wing of the literature on the subject;—these are of fixed periods (7th-9th century A. D.). (v) Those of a *cūrṇaka* type,—and these number many,—sometimes of doubtful authorship often attributed to great names like Kālidāsa, Vyāsa, Vālmīki, etc.,

1 In *Āśvāsa*, V (vol. II, p. 258) the rathah kṣauṇī yantā... (verse 18 of the stotra has been described as grahilasya bhāṣitam (grahila=importunate). Cf. *Naiṣadha* II, prasāda grahileva mānī. The *Yaśastilaka*, according to its author, was composed in A. D. 959.

2 Jayantabhaṭṭa of Kashmir (circa 10th century A. D.) the father of the Gauda Abhinanda, in his *Nyāyamāñjari*, refers presumably to Puṣpadanta when he says :—Puṣpadantopiyāha bhrāṣṭah śāpena devyāḥ śivapuravasater vandyaham mandabhāgyo bhavyam vā..... There is however a discrepancy here and that is about the imprecator of the curse.

3 Jagannātha cakravartin, one of the many commentators on the stotra refers to it, though none the less, he makes a mystery of it in his introduction to the commentary thereon. (Vide A. Avalon's ed.).

4 Ityesā vai mayi pūjā śrimacchaṅkarapādayoḥ, arpitā tena deveśaḥ priyatāneśa sadāśivah. The claim to an earlier date rests on the term Śrimat as applied to Śaṅkara. It does not matter much whether this verse along with the seven preceding it formed part of that of the original *stotra* or not, for the tradition itself is valuable.

5 Under *bhāva*=*devādīviṣayā ratih*. chap. III. Vide also *Kāvya mālā*, I (1886).

sometimes anonymous, a few of which like the *Sūryāryā Stotra*¹ (*Ravīgāthā*) attributed to Yājñavalkya, the *Śivastotra* by Upamanyu, the *Viṣṇu satpādī* wrongly ascribed to the Vedāntist Śaṅkarācārya, can, by the internal evidences of the preponderance of the purely kāvya style, of metrical peculiarities, and of later copyings be roughly assigned to dates earlier than the 10th century. (vi) *Stotras* by later writers (e.g. Līlāsuka or Vilvamaṅgala, Śrīcaitanya Jagannātha Pañḍita, whose dates are matters of almost historical certainty. There certainly remain several stotras which are still ubiquitous and it is in the light of their historical, social, philosophical, as much as literary bearings that they are to be studied in order to fix the period of their composition.

Here we must take account of the value which the student of the history of ancient India and her culture should attach to these stotras. It is a truism to assert that history takes as much account of society as of politics, or to be nearer the mark, the social element in the history of India is no less important than the political element; but it often comes as an unwelcome surprise that while the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Śrauta* and the *Gṛhya sūtra* are availed of with avidity by the modern student of history, there is still a rather gross neglect of the *nibandhas* and allied literature of a later age. The stotras certainly form an important link in the chain of the intricacies of religious evolution. So much from the analytic view of life. But their claims to rank high in the estimation of the student of history rest no less on the synthetic and constructive aspects of life presented by them. Western scholars for the last fifty years or more have consistently and steadily complained of the lack of the spirit of manly effort in the classical literature of India and have, in their way, deprecated the tone of submission and self-surrender, so often traceable even in poetry other than professedly religious. Dr. Keith in his recent manual on *Classical Sanskrit Literature* where he has given a very brief account of the devotional lyrics has in his masterly way drawn attention to the other side of the picture as well² which is the ideal with which the old Indian, to whatever school of thought or creed he may

I Cf. *nidhiresa daridrānām roginām paramauṣadham, siddhiḥ sakalakāryāṇām gātHEYAM SAMSMR̄TĀ rāVEḥ*, This gāthā, short though it is (it contains 9 āryās only), arrests attention as one breaking new ground in this literature.

2 "We may justly recognise that there remained often a field

belong, has been permeated all along. Indeed we are apt to under-estimate the place of *bhakti* (feeling) in ancient Indian life and seem to be led over too much by doctrines of *Karma* (Volition) and *jñāna* (Cognition)—disquisitions on which have often crossed the domain of philosophical literature to think that they alone were the two guiding tendencies of Indian life. But a careful study of the trend of the Indian mind would lead us to the conclusion that these disquisitions, while voicing the opinions of a certain section of the intellectually strong people, were at least academic—and that *Karma* and *Jñāna* in matters of religious worship existed to the generality of people as the supplement and appendage of *bhakti*. Considered in this aspect, the *Stotra* literature is more real and penetrative than the other lyric and gnomic compositions which bear a close affinity to them in point of intensity of feeling. History has repeated and has even now been repeating itself in the promulgation of different modes of worship and prayer, orthodox and unorthodox; all of whom are fundamentally at one in their goal and in the enunciation of the principle which leads them to it.

Looked at in a more concrete way, the *Stotra* literature takes us face to face with some of the differentiating tendencies of these *prasthānas*² and helps us to form an idea of how and why the different cults came into existence. The *iṣṭa* and *pūrta* view of the functions of life, has, as we have seen, had to be abandoned in the rise of the *yoga* and *kṣema*³ view which brought into prominence the question of *Sāntika-paustika*, or *Sānti-svastayana Bhakti* as the dominant principle in life lived in and through such practices, and made the life of the Indian householder a complex, but none-the-less an

in which much could be accomplished of universal appeal and abiding worth and that in richness and beauty of form and sound Sanskrit presented a medium worthy of the highest flights to which any poet could soar".—*Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 128.

2 Vide *Śivamahimnāḥ stotra* 5, 7; *Ganeśamahimnāḥ stotra*, 2-5.

3 *Upeyādīśvarañcaiva yogakṣemārthaśidahaye* (*alabhyalābhacintū yogah, labdhasya rakṣaṇam kṣemah*). The *iṣṭā-pūrta* view of a householder's life was the dominant note in the earlier *Dharmasamhitās* like that of Manu; the *yogakṣema* view obtained amongst those who growingly believed in the efficacy of *Pauruṇik* and *Tantrik* practices. The *śat Karmāṇ* of an earlier age also acquired a peculiar meaning. Cf. *Sāradātilaka*, xxiii, 124; and the practices referred to or hinted at in the Buddhist *Sādhanamālā* and other works bear comparision.

enjoyable thing. The place of *stotras* or *stavas* in this round of duties can best be gauged by a reference to the practice of Śānti in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita*¹. One's personal welfare may be thought to depend not only on safety from, but also victory over antagonists.² In some of the *Purāṇas* and *Tantras*, particularly in many of the latter, we have some rites and practices as essential adjuncts to religion, though they smack of totemism or superstition.³ In the stotra literature we have many *stotras*, where these rites are mentioned and not a few of these *stotras* in spite of their nauseating setting have redeeming features of poetic appeal and grace, by which they have withstood the ravage of critical examination. As apt instances we may cite those in the *Ādityahṛdaya*⁴, and the *Śani Kavaca*⁵ (these are the two planets (father and son) who are constantly sought to be appeased by *stavas* and *stutis*, because in the light of later astrological investigations, they were regarded as evil planets) and the queer, and often intensely gross and sensual Tāntrik practices as in the *Vagalāmukhī* and *Dakṣinākālikā* *stotras*⁶, a prototype of what we actually meet with in profane literature (Cf. Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*) and in the account of the *Kāpālikas* at the time of the great Śaṅkara and Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. That all the Tāntrik orders approved of such extreme forms of *Vāmācāra* is far from true; many Tāntrik *stotras* of śakti (cf. the *Mahiśamardini Stotra*⁶ of classi-

1 *mandanī mandanī dvārapālaiḥ prapamyamānaśca.....puṣyamāna-kuladevataṁ.....kriyamāṇaśadāhutihomāṇ.....pathyamānamahāmāyuri pravartyamānagṛhaśānti.....japyamānarudraikūdaśi śabdāyamānaśivagṛham rūjakulam viveśa* (Ucchvāsa V).

2 Cf. practices like *vaśīkarana*, *stambhana*, *vidvesaya*, *māraṇa*, *uccatana*. Some of the *Purāṇas* (*Vāyu*, *Liṅga*, *Padma*) have assigned particular attributes and colours to the respective Vedas and especially, to particular *mantras* in or coming out of them. Compare *Liṅgapurāṇa*, xvii.

3 Cf. *Ādityahṛdaya*:

tribhiśca rogi bhavati jvari bhavati pañcabhiḥ.

4 Cf. the practice in mediæval Europe of burning the effigy of an enemy often hinted at in Shakespearian literature.

5 *Vagalāmukhīstava* (verses 6 and 7). *Dakṣinākālikāstava* (verses 10, 15 and 16) in the *Stavakavacamālā*.

6 Verses 3, 7. In the end there is, however, a reference to *stambhanas*, *māraṇas* etc.

cal fame) afford glowing testimony to the use which they made of prayer and self-purification.

A look at another important branch of the *Stotra* literature (e.g., the *Tārā Stotras*) would convince us of the eclectic tendencies in religious worship which culminated in the adaptation of many deities into later Hindu pantheon from non-Hindu religions. In the *Tārāpajjhatiikā*, ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya we have 31 verses, in which are expressions smacking of Buddhistic terminology (*vide Tāratantra*, Varendra Research Society Ed., Introduction, p. 19). So in the three hymns of Tārā in the *Tārārahasyavārttika*, a ms. of which work is in the possession of the Varendra Research Society, the essential peculiarity of the deity lies in her identification with the *Prajñāpāramitā* of Buddhist ritualistic philosophy. More than one scholar has expressed their doubts about the Hindu origin of some of the minor deities like Sitalā, Viśalākṣī, in no uncertain terms. These have had their origin in the synthesis of the later Paurāṇik and Tāntrik ideals, which could not help contagion or contamination from unorthodox rites and sentiments. Indeed these individualistic, disintegrating tendencies are in their own way but proofs of the solidarity and fundamental unity of Hindu religious life; the respectful mention of different views and schools of thought, which is to be contrasted with the fastidious and often cantankerous criticism of the antagonist's views at the hands of the philosophers of the same age, indicates not only the healthy tone of the *Stotra* literature, but also its tolerance and catholicity, born of an inevitable belief in the real unity in the outlook of life; and this is the characteristic, which has in spite of the obvious disadvantages in the way of publicity and the varying levels of literary merit, won for them the admiration of all.

The question of literary excellences in the devotional lyrics has hardly been seriously and systematically thought out by the historian of Sanskrit literature, who has been at best content with time-worn and fine-spun categories of poetry of an altogether different ideal. Nay, it is often held that the *Stotra* literature is surely disappointing from the purely literary point of view. That this is an erroneous estimate will be evident to many who have cared to read the voluminous literature. Of course, some of the *stotras* as we find them in the *Purāṇas* (in the form of *māhātmyas*),—most of them in which the materialistic view of life has come to the forefront, and in which the Praśasti or Phalaśruti element is obtrusive—are rather commonplaces. And this may have been the reason why in works on *Alamkāra* and in anthologies (like

the *Subhāṣitāvali* and the *Sāringadharapaddhati*) the Stotra literature as literature has not been given a prominence. But if we apply the same canons of criticism as are applied in the testing of purely profane and secular verses, it will be seen that many of these canons have as good a claim to be recognised as poetry. To start with, the manner of expression, in form and metre, in rhythm and cadence—has nowhere been so successful and charming as in this literature. The classical Sanskrit has acquired an attractive form in and through them. Rhyme and alliteration, the intricate niceties of versification, the principle of symmetry and external harmony standing as the background of internal serenity and sweetness are there in all their pristine simplicity. The *Āryā* verse, the ordinary sloka forms of *Upajāti*, *Vasantatilaka*, etc. the more musical adaptations of originally Vedic metres, the *tolaka*, *pajjhālikā*, *drutavilambita*, *bhujaṅga-prayāta*, *pañcacāmara*, etc. and the infinite variations of *mātrā chandas* which are almost restricted to this branch of literature, have nowhere been so charmingly put as here. A few examples are given below :

- (1) vṛṣopariparisphuraddhavaladhāma dhāmaśriyā,
kuberagirigaurimaprabhavagarvanirvāsi tat
(Laṅkeśvarakṛta Śivastotra).

(2) padmadalāyatatalocana he raghuvaṇśabibhūṣaṇa deva dayālo,
nirmalanīradanīlatano'khilalokahṛdambujabhāsaka bhāno.
komalagātrapavitrapadābjarajahkaṇapāvitagautamakānta,
tvām bhajato raghunandana dehi dayāghana me
svapadāmbujadāsyam

(3) (Sītārāmāṣṭaka, verse 2).
vahasi vapusī viśade vasanāṁ jaladābhām,
halahatibhītimilitayamunābhām.

(4) (Jayadeva—Daśāvatāra stotra).
namaste namaste samastasvarupe
samastesu vastuśvanusyūtaśakte

(5) (Prapañcasāra—Hṛllekhastava, x, 69).
namaste śaranye śive sānukampe
namaste jagadvyāpike viśvarūpe

(6) (Āpaduddhārastava).
devi sureśvari bhagavati gaṅge
tribhuvanatāriṇi taralataraṅge

(7) (Gaṅgāstava).
vṛṣo vṛddho yānam viṣam aśanam āśā nivasanam...
(Ānandalahari, 16)

The alterations of metres like the play of light and shade or the rays in the solar spectrum have often produced a marvellous effect as in the two *stavas* *Mukundamuktāvali*, and *Bhagavatipadyapuspāñjali* (both of which seem to be rather late productions), in the former of which there have been used no less than fifteen metres in the course of thirty stanzas¹.

And if the claim of the *stotras* for literary recognition rests on their artistic expression, it rests no less on the charm and nobility of sentiments contained in them. Here of course is a fundamental and inevitable difference, the sentiments have got to be of one uniform type, the *Rasa* that figures in them is ultimately one of the nine or more *rasas* in the code of the rhetoricians. The whole *stotra* literature is a series of expressions of *bhakti* included later in the category of a *rasa* by Vaisnava rhetoricians. In the smaller lyrics, where the verses generally are charged with the same sentiment or *rasa*, there is much room for monotony in the *stotra* considered as a *kāvya*. Conventionalities and customs, conceits and intellectual caprices except by way of mere catchwords and affectations do not disturb the smooth flow of feeling here as in other allied departments of *kāvya* and the dart-like directness of aim (*tanmayabhāvatā*) gives rise to undiluted pleasure.

The following examples culled from the less ambitious lyrics serve to illustrate this point :—

¹ *Stavakavacamālā*, pp. 596-602, pp. 278-284.

madhuram hi payah svabhavato
 nanu kidrik sitasarkaravatam.
 savišo'pyamrtayate bhavañi-
 chavamundabharano'pi pavanaḥ,
 bhava eva bhavantakah satām
 samadṛṣṭir višamekṣano'pi san

(Upamanyukta Śivastotra).

The philosophical background of the literature arrests the attention of the casual reader and constructs the really Indian element of stamp in them. In some of these lyrics called *Ātmabodha stotras*, philosophising is rather keen ; constant iteration of the unreality of the world seems to be overdone, thus impairing their literary value. As accompaniments and subsidiaries of meditation like trances or psycho-physical exercises, they certainly have their uses ;—but they fall flat on the ears of the ordinary man. In them the substratum of *jñāna* has tried to shut its doors against all limitations of *karman* and commingle itself with *bhakti* which is placed in a rather unenviable position. That that *stotras* of this type (e. g. the *mohamudgara*) were meant only for the select few is self evident. No question of serial conventions and individualistic free will disturbs us here. As a *stotra-kūra* puts it, *nistraiguṇye pathi vicarataḥ ko vidhiḥ ko niṣedhaḥ*—the refrain in the *Carpaṭapāñjarikā stotra*—*bhaja govindam bhaja govindam bhaja govindam mūḍhamate* are types of thought met with in these *stotras* but it is to be noted that these very seldom deviate from the orbit chalked for them, as will be evident from the extracts noted below from *Paramesvara*¹ which has almost touched the danger zone between *jñana* as *naishkarma* and *bhakti*. In the *stotras* of another, though distinctly learned, type best represented by the *Śivamahimnah stotra*², we have occasional refer-

1 Kadāham bhoḥ svāmin niyatamanasā tvām hṛdi bhajann-
 abhadre samsāre hyanavarataduḥkhe'tivirasah.
 labheyam tām sāntim paramamunibhir yā hyadhigatā
 dayām kṛtvā me tvām vitara paraśāntim bhavahara.
 vidhātā ced viśvam̄ srjati srjatām me śubhakṛtim
 vibhuścet pātā mā'vatu janimṛterduḥkhajaladheḥ.
 haraḥ saṁhartā saṁharatu mama śokam̄ sajanakam̄
 yathā'ham muktah syām̄ kimapi tu tathā te vidadhātām.

(verses 3 & 4).

2 Verses 4-7, 9.

ences to the dogmas and academic queries of the accredited schools of philosophy, orthodox and unorthodox ;—but they serve merely as digressions. The *stotrakāra* (lyrist) makes no capital out of them and is disposed even to speak lightly of them as *kutarkas* (irrelevant and fruitless surmises) ; he bases his appeal on the firm rock of really vital philosophical beliefs which are ingrained in every human heart and are simple and effective. In that philosophical *Śataka* (*stotrasūra*) the *Anandalaharī* or the Waves of Bliss, which tradition has rightly ascribed to the great Śaṅkarācārya we find this point very clearly hinted at in the following verses :—

avidyānāmantastimiramihiroddipanakari

.....bhavati. (verse 3).

śrutiṇām mūrdhāno dadhati tava yau śekharatayā

mamāpyetau mātaḥ śirasi dayayā dhehi caraṇau.

yayoh pādyām pāthah paśupatijatājūtataṭinī

yayorlākṣālakṣmīraruṇaharacūḍamaṇiruciḥ (verse 84)

Man is, by constitution, weak, aggrieved (*ārta*), forlorn (*anātha*) ; he has no other way of deliverance from his bondage of sins and sorrows than to surrender himself to the grace of the almighty 'kindly spirit'. This is the rock on which the primrose of human redemption shines out and from this has come the expression of the *bhakti* of the *Sāṇḍilya sūtra* an earnest of which is to be traced in the *madhuvidyā* of the *Chāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads*¹. Only at the concluding stage of his *sādhanā* and *upāsanā* can he think of freeing himself from the clutches of dualities of relations and perceive intuitively but unambiguously his blissful spiritual self² :—

manobuddhyahamkāracittāni nāham

na ca śrotrajihve na ca ghrāṇanetre.

na ca vyoma bhūmir na tejo na vāyu

ścidānandarūpaḥ śivo'ham śivo'ham (Nirvāṇaṣaṭak).

¹ For a discussion on this *vide* Dr. B. M. Barua's *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* published by the Calcutta University (1923).

² Says Arthur Avalon :—"It is customary now-a-days to decry external worship but those who do so presume too much.....Before *brahmabhāva* can be attained the *sādhakabhāva* must have passed from *pūjābhāva* through hymns and prayer to *dhyānabhāva*". (*Hymns to the Goddess*, p. 9). Cf. also *Sāradātilaka* 'XXIV. 102-103) and the comments of Rāghavabhaṭṭa thereon.

The *stotra literature* were to miss its mark if it did not culminate in the realisation of this blissful reality¹. A Bengal rhetorician of the 16th century brought up under the influence of the *bhakti* cult holds up this high mission of *kāvya* before its readers² :—

yaśah prabhṛtyeva phalam nāsyā kevalam iṣyate,
nirmāṇakālē Śrīkṛṣṇaguṇalāvanyaakeliṣu.
cittasyābhiniveśena sāndrānandālayastu yaḥ,
sa eva paramo lābhah svādakānām tathaiva saḥ.

It would be the height of temerity to say that this high level is attainable to all through profane poetry as it would be idle to deny that the *stotras* are the portals to it. In the stages of evolution of the *pūjāpaddhati* through *dhyāna*, *mānasapūjā* right up to *vandana* we find the gradual shifting of the elements of knowledge from feeling and the ultimate merging of the individual self in the supreme soul. The speech of the lyrist cannot express the state of his mind and the lyrist thinks that the mercy and virtues of his gracious deity are comprehensible ; that is why the great Vyāsa is thought by many to have spoken in deprecating terms of his endeavour to bring the supreme Being within the range of *stava-stuti*³—an idea very frequently met with in the *stotra* literature. He makes another effort to humiliate himself still further and anon flashes on his mind's eye the image of the All-protector ready to help him and his heart speaks out thus in intensity of feeling⁴ :—

I *hariharakathā sā ca vitathā|*
 na yatra syādātmā sphuradanubhava pratyayamayaḥ|
 (*Sārṅgadharapaddhati*, verse 4180).

2 Kavikarṇapūra's *Alamkāra-kaustubha*, *kiraṇa* I (page 7, Varendra Research Society Ed.).

3 *Stutyanirvacanīyatākhilagurorddūrikṛtā yanmayā.....* Also Cf. the *Sapta-śati*—*kā te stutih stavyaparā paroktiḥ*. Of similar strain is the sentiment in the following line from an exquisite hymn to Ambikā in the *Sāradātilaka* (*Paṭala* xxiv) :—*stutvā girām vimalayāmyahamam-bike tvāṁ* a parallel to which is found in the third verse of the *Sivamahimnāḥ stotra*.

4 Cf. the *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad* :—*tadejati tannaijati taddūre tadu antike*. For the last stage in the evolution cf. A. Avalon's *Hymns to the Goddess*, Introduction :—'The highest stage is *nirādhāra* worship. By one's own direct experience of *maheśvarī* as the self, she is with reverence made the object of that worship which leads to liberation.'

na janako jananī na ca sodaro
 na tanayo na ca bhūribalam kulam
 avati k'opi na kālavaśaṅgatam
 bhajata re manujā girijāpatim

(Paśupatistotra.)

namah purastād atha prsthatas te
 namo'stu te sarvata eva sarva

(Bhagavadgītā).

namah sarvasmai tadidamatisarvāya ca namah
 (Śivamahimnah stotra).

And the spirit of prayer gushes out intermittently and purifies and fortifies itself with the thought :—

namaste sate sarvalokāśrayāya
 namaste cite viśvarūpātmakāya,
 namodvaitatattvāya muktipradāya
 namo brahmaṇe vyāpine nirguṇāya.
 tadekam smarāmas tadekam bhajamas
 tādekaṁ jagatsākṣirūpam namāmaḥ,
 sadekam nidhānam nirālambamiśai
 bhavāmbhodhipotai śaranyaṁ brajāmaḥ.

—undoubtedly a thought that has served as the final note of consolation to many a lover of this literature.

SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA

MISCELLANY

The Bhāsa Problem

In his paper on 'The Bhāsa Problem' (*IHQ.*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 103 ff.), Mr. K. R. Pisharoti cites some verses from *Kavi Vimarśa*, which, he says, is ascribed to Rājaśekhara, and tries to make out that Rājaśekhara is not reliable. If we were certain that *Kavi Vimarśa* was written by Rājaśekhara, and that the source from which the laudatory verse quoted in Jahlaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī* as Rājaśekhara's was *Kavi Vimarśa*, we may, perhaps, reject Rājaśekhara's testimony in regard to the authorship of *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*. But are we certain of these facts?

In their introduction to the edition of *Kāvya-mimāṃsā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. I), Messrs Dalal and Anantakrishna Sastri write: "Some say that Rājaśekhara wrote a work named *Kavi Vimarśa*, wherein are to be found the appreciative verses attributed to him in the *Sūktimuktāvalī*; but it does not seem probable that Rājaśekhara should ever have written any such work when he had composed such a large work as the *Kāvya-mimāṃsā* with 18 Adhikaraṇas". The learned editors do not obviously accept the view that Rājaśekhara wrote *Kavi Vimarśa*. Mr. Krishnamachariya in his edition of *Priyadarśikā* also rejects this view. I have heard from Sanskrit Pandits that as a matter of fact *Kavi Vimarśa* is a literary forgery. It is said to be the work of a South Indian Sanskrit Pandit, Bhaṭṭa Śrī Narayana Sastri of Kumbakonam, who created uncommon stir in literary circles and among Sanskrit Pandits in South India about 40 years ago by his successful imitations of the old poets. He was known to be a prolific writer in different styles and after different models. *Kavi Vimarśa* appears to be one of his practical jokes.

K. G. SESHA AIYAR

Progress of Historical Research in Travancore

The first part of volume V of the Travancore Archaeological Series recently published has a descriptive note on the cave temple (rock-cut cave) at Kaviyur in the Quilon Division of the State. The site plan of the cave presents many points of similarity to the early type (Pallava) of rock-cut temples and has the orientation of a Śiva's shrine. The *dvārapāla* in the niche to the left of the entrance is "limb for limb a replica of the doorkeeper guarding the entrance at the left in the Mahendravarman cave at Trichinopoly". The Epigraphist suggests that the cave was possibly excavated on the design of similar caves existing elsewhere in the Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevelly Districts and that the boast of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman of having vanquished the Keralas might mean that this meeting possibly served as an occasion for the knowledge of the cave architecture of the earlier Pallava style to filter into the Kerala country. This together with the dates fixed for another rock-cut temple at Tirunandikkarai within the State itself and for the Nṛsiṁha Cave Temple in the Anaimalai Hills in the Madura District, can "very well be assigned to the second half of the eighth century if not earlier, although a tendency to give it a slightly earlier age is justifiable from its close resemblance to early Pallava work".

Among the important copper-plates published in the number is a Tamil record presented in the Trivandrum Palace (dated *saka* 1691, *Kollam* 945 i.e. A. D. 1769) which registers the sale-deed of a village presented by the Travancore sovereign to the Ramesvaram Temple, after purchasing it from the Setupati of Ramnad. The Travancore sovereign is the well-known Rama Varma Dharmarāja who ruled from 1758 to 1798 A. D. and who is said to have composed a work on the dancing art. More important than this is the Record of *Kollam* 925 of the famous Mārttanda Varma, the maker of modern Travancore, preserved in a palmyra leaf in the Trivandrum Vernacular Records Office, being a copy of the original copper-plate. It is the solemn dedication of the whole kingdom to the deity Padmanābha, the king conducting the administration only as the deity's agent—a measure calculated to safeguard his newly acquired dominions against the aggressions of his neighbours. The idea however that the *Tirunadi-Rājya* (Travancore) was God's country was current even two centuries earlier when there was an invasion of the region of Venādu by Acyuta Raya of Vijayanagara.

An inscription which is however much defaced, found in the Rāmēśvarasvāmi Temple at Quilon, dated Kollam 278, (A. D. 1103) contains the record of the king ordering certain grants of land to be made to the temple as "an atonement for the enmity incurred with the Āryas." Possibly, the Editor thinks, this has a reference to the Cālukya-Cola king, Kulottunga I, who at this time invaded the Pandya country, crushed the five Pandyas, burned the fort of Kollam and defeated the army of the Keralas (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 168). The gift is an expiatory donation and might have been made on account of some molestation to which Ārya-Brāhmaṇas were probably subjected. Such penalties were called *garuakkattu* or "amercentes for high-handedness," and the Editor gives several similar instances.

The Editor gives a very interesting account also of a manuscript called *Rāmavarma-Yāśobhūṣaṇam* which on examination proved to be an exact reproduction of the *Pratāpa Rudriya* (of the 14th century) with regard to rules, definitions and their explanatory notes except that the illustrative verses were composed in praise of the Travancore king Rāmavarma Dharmarāja mentioned above. He also describes another manuscript work *Vasulakṣmī-Kalyāṇam* which was composed in Kollam 960 (A. D. 1785) with the same king as hero, but by a different author. The section dealing with these two literary works appeared as an article in the *Indian Antiquary* for January, 1924.

C. J. SRINIVASACHARI

Inscriptions in Siam

In the kingdom of Siam altogether 210 inscriptions have been discovered up to now. These may be classified in seven groups according to their geographical distribution.

I. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Dvārāvati, 6th-8th cent. A.D. Language—Pāli and Mon.

II. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Śrivijaya, 8th-12th cent. Sanskrit and Khmer.

III. Inscriptions of the eastern and north-eastern provinces, 6th-13th cent. Sanskrit and Khmer.

IV. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Haripuñjaya, 12th-13th cent. Pāli and Mon.

V. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Sukhodaya, 13th-16th cent. Pāli and Siamese.

VI. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Yonaka (in the north-west),
14th-16th cent. Pāli and Mon.

VII. Inscriptions of the dynasties of Ayodhyā and Bangkok,
Post 14th cent. Pāli and Siamese.

(From B. E. F. E. O., January—June, 1924, p. 266.)

U. N. G.

The German Orientalists' Day

At the conference of German Orientalists held at Munich (Oct. 2-4, 1924), in the Indian, Iranian and East Asian section, Prof. Lüders, Geiger and Franke presiding, Prof. Lüders spoke about the canonical and non-canonical poetry of the Sarvāstivādins and the progress in the revision of Sanskrit MSS. from Turfan and he showed by citation of texts and of mistakes in their translation that the Pāli as well as Sanskrit texts that have been handed down to us must go back to an Ardha-Māgadhi original.

(From Z. D. M. G., New Series, Vol. III, p. 12).

U. N. G.

Oriental Research in Baroda

His Highness Dr. Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., *Sena Khaskhel Samsher Bahadur*, Maharaja of Baroda, who is widely known to be a fervent lover of ancient Sanskrit lore and has a great enthusiasm for the promotion of Sanskrit research in his State, established in 1914 a Sanskrit section attached to the Central Library, instituted an expensive search for Sanskrit manuscripts, and passed orders to commence the publication of rare, useful, and important MSS. in Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Apabhraṃśa in a Series called the Gaekwad Oriental Series. He also deputed the then Librarian, an erudite Jain Sanskritist, the late Mr. C. D. Dalal, to inspect and examine the manuscript treasures in the *Bhāṇḍārs* of Jaisalmer, and Pattan, the old capital of king Kuīnārapāla in his own territory. Mr. Dalal gladly undertook this laborious task and brought with him rough notes to be developed in the form of a Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. deposited in these *Bhāṇḍārs*. It is a matter of the deepest regret that he could not finish the work owing to his untimely decease in 1918. He was never of very robust health but in four years he was able to publish at least 16 works in the Gaekwad Oriental Series.

The search instituted by His Highness was very fruitful and in the course of a few years, the manuscript library swelled to 13000 MSS. He also lavishly spent money for the preservation of this valuable treasure, provided the Library with a fire-proof building, costly iron safes and book-racks, and supplied funds for the preparation and publication of a *Descriptive Catalogue*, of which the first volume containing descriptions of Vedic MSS. is now in the press and is expected to be published during the current year.

To help the editorial staff, His Highness provided the Library with printed Sanskrit books and the latest works of research published in India and elsewhere and awarded annual grants to keep up the efficiency of the Library by the purchase of up-to-date publications.

The Series of publications was first started in 1915 under the editorship of Mr. C. D. Dalal. After his death, the work was supervised by Mr. J. S. Kudalkar M.A., LL. B., an erudite Sanskrit scholar who filled the post of the Curator of State Libraries. But providence also snatched him away from our midst and he died in 1921. After this the work of writing proceeded very slowly till the beginning of 1924.

Though the Series is still in its infancy, it includes at present 24 works. Among the publications there are 3 Kāvyas, 4 Dramas, 3 on Philosophy, 1 on Poetics, 1 on Grammar, 1 on Music, 1 Romance, 1 Biography, 1 Collection of Gujarati works, 2 Catalogues of MSS. (one being a *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in the Jaisalmer Bhāndārs*), 1 Vedic, 1 Apabhraṃśa work, 3 on Tantra and 1 on Architecture. It will be seen that a wide field of Sanskrit literature is being traversed with the help of specialists in the different branches of knowledge.

As the Sanskrit-knowing public is already conversant with our publications, it is needless to give further details about them. One of the recent publications, namely, the *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in the Bhāndārs of Jaisalmer* deserves however some notice. It is a very scholarly work and is edited by our erudite Jain Pandit Mr. Lalchand Bhagavandas Gandhi. This work has brought to light a large mass of unknown and important Indian literature as also a large number of blunders committed by previous writers on Jaisalmer Bhāndārs. It contains plenty of details about the ancient writers (mostly Jain).

Mr. Dalal discovered amongst the Ms. remains in the Pattan Bhāndārs numerous rare, important, and unique MSS., the most notable of which is the *Nyāya Pravēśa* of Diināga, the original of which was believed to have been irrevocably lost. This work is accompanied with a commentary of Haribhadra Sūri and a sub-commentary by

Pārvadeva, both famous in Jain literature. It has been edited by the veteran and well-known scholar of Guzerat, Principal A. B. Dhruva of the Benares Central Hindu College. It is being printed and expected to be out by the end of this year. The next work worthy of mention is the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita with the *Pañjikā* of Kamalaśīla both of whom belonged to the middle of the 8th century and were connected with the famous Vihāra of Nālandā. In the mediæval period, they kept up the high standard of Indian scholarship as evinced in their effective teachings and preachings to the kings and the people of Tibet. The book has been edited by Pandit E. Krishnamacharyya, a sound Pandit of the old school. This is also in the press and is expected to see the light by the middle of the current year. The third work in the press is the *Nātyaśāstra* with the commentary entitled *Abhinavabhārati* by Abhinavagupta of Kashmir. The writing of this book has been entrusted to Pandit Ramakrishna Kavi of Rajamundry, well-known to scholars through his many contributions in the oriental journals based on materials afforded by this commentary. These articles are enough to give an idea to the public as to the importance of the work. It is to be complete in three volumes, of which the first is expected during the current year. The fourth work is the celebrated *Sādhananālā*, well-known through the writings of Prof. A. Foucher of the University of Paris, which induced the authorities of the Bibliotheca Buddhica in Russia to undertake its publication. It, however, never came out perhaps on account of the European war. The earliest Ms. of the work belongs to the middle of the 12th century. The edition will contain more than 300 small works called the *Sādhanas* written by distinguished scholars of Buddhism. The book is expected by the end of this year.

The fifth publication *Lekhāpaddhati* is a curious work containing ample materials for the linguists. The text has been printed and the publication is expected by the middle of this year. The author here freely uses vernacular words tagging on to them Sanskrit terminations. Many words have now become obsolete altogether making the meaning of the Sanskrit language of the book a puzzle to scholars. Mr. G. K. Shrigondevkar, M. A., the editor after a year of hard labour and by his visits to the Kādi district, has been able to bring out the hidden meanings, and where he has failed, he has suggested his own meanings worth consideration by scholars.

The works that have been taken up for publication have been judiciously selected. They cover a wide range of subjects and range from the Sūtra period down to about 1300 A.D.

The most important work undertaken in the Series is undoubtedly the *Advayavajrasamgraha*, a unique work of historical importance, which solves many a puzzling problem in the history of Indian Buddhism. The author Advayavajra was a voluminous writer of the mediæval period on philosophy, tantra, logic, and rituals, but the Sanskrit originals of his writings are lost. Translations of a few of them are however found in the Tibetan Tangyur. This work is being edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri, M. A., C. I. E. We have in hand two more works giving details about the almost unknown branch of Buddhism called Vajrayāna. They are *Jñānasiddhi* of Indrabhūti and *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* of Anaṅgavajra. They have been taken up for publication departmentally. There is another small but interesting work on Buddhist Logic entitled *Tarkabhaṣā* of Moksākara-gupta belonging to the once famous Jagaddala monastery.

In Tantra, there is in our list the voluminous compendium of the Śaktisāṅgama Tantra and a Pāñcarātra work entitled the *Jayasamhitā*.

In literature, only one very interesting drama written by Rāma Candra Sūri, pupil of Hemacandra has been undertaken and is being jointly edited by our Sanskrit Librarian Mr. G. K. Shrigondevkar, M. A. and Mr. L. B. Gandhi.

Śāradātanaya's work entitled *Bhāvaprakāśa* on dramaturgy certainly deserves immediate publication. This work has been most ably edited by His Holiness Yadugirī Yatiraja of Melkot and is awaiting publication.

Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī* an anthology based on an accurate Grantha Ms. has also been taken up departmentally for publication. This is the bigger recension of the work praised so much by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in one of his reports.

Mānavagrhyasūtra with the commentary of Aṣṭāvakra is also awaiting publication. It has been edited by Pandit Ramakrishna Harshaji Sastri of Ahmedabad who belongs to this particular sākhā (Maitrāyanīya) of the Yajurveda.

Besides these, the second volume of the *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS.* deposited in the Central Library, Baroda, is being prepared and will also be sent to the press soon.

The *Catalogue of the Pāttan Bhāṇḍārs* has also made a rapid progress and is being edited from the rough, hasty and almost illegible notes left by the late Mr. C. D. Dalal, M. A., by our Jain Pandit, well versed in ancient Jain lore, and a scholar of Prākṛt, Apabhraṃṣa, and Sanskrit. It is to comprise two volumes, one of which will be sent to the press soon.

The *Bhavisyatta Kahā* or *Pañcamikahā* in Apabhraṃṣa has already

been out. We have in hand three works to go in one volume entitled *Carcarī*, *Upadeśarasāyaṇa*, and *Kālasvarūpakulaka* with commentaries. The *Kumārapālapratibodha* is the only Prākṛt book and the *Prācīna Gurjara Kāvyaśāṅgraha* is the only Vernacular work that have up till now been published.

While on one hand the editing is going on in full swing, we have not neglected the other branches of oriental research.

In Epigraphy the Tilakwada plate has been secured and deciphered by Mr. G. K. Shrigondevkar of this Department. It gives the information that Surāditya the Senāpati of Bhoja Paramara of Dhārā fought against the Muhammadan general Śāhavāhana and by defeating him made firm the tottering kingdom of his master. The other interesting copper-plate discovered very recently by the same scholar testifies unmistakably to the high imperialism of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It refers to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka Suvarṇavarṣa and to a grant of land made by him as attested by the signature of Amoghavarṣa, over-lord of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Gujarat. It shows clearly that the main line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings regarded their Gujarat brethren as mere vassals. A paper on the subject was read at the last session of the Oriental Conference.

In the domain of Indian Art, we have very recently secured a unique Ms. of *Bhagavadgītā* written on paper embroidered with gold and silver with 91 pictures, all of which are wonderful specimens of early Rajputana art. The author takes up passages from the Bhagavadgītā and by the touch of his brush transforms the passages into a delightful and picturesque scene. The masterly delineation, the forceful expression of the faces in the appropriate settings make these pictures an invaluable treasure.

With regard to the copying of Ms., we have dispensed with the idea of employing copyists, who are often very unwilling workers, charge heavy rates and take a lot of time. A year ago we purchased a huge photographic machine called *Photostat*, which operated by a single man, can copy about one hundred leaves of a ms. in a day. These copies are on bromide paper and last for a long time with a good contrast of black and white. To preserve brittle and dilapidated mss., we have been employing this machine with the greatest success.

His Highness the Maharaja Saheb has sanctioned 22000 rupees for the publication of Sanskrit works in the Gaekwad Oriental Series for which all scholars interested in Indology have reason to be grateful to him.

BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA

Notes on Buddhism

1. The *Abhidharmaśāvākhyā* contains the following interesting note : "Philosophies while destroying the opinion of their adversaries must carefully respect the principles of logic, because these principles are useful to them ; just as kings, while destroying the soldiers of their enemies respect the field-labourer who is the common help of both armies". This observation can be compared to the observation of the Greek historians who saw with surprise that peasants peacefully practised their peaceful work in the middle of combating armies.

2. Vasubandhu (ii. 50) himself does not give a very pleasant idea of the government of the kings (or rather of the small chiefs). He establishes that there is a certain sort of cause (*hetu*), which in fact does not produce any effect : its causality only consists in the fact of not prohibiting the production of the effect by other causes. The objection is at hand : how can a thing which does not produce be called a cause ? Just as the villagers say, "We are happy owing to our Lord (*svāmin, bhojaka*)" not, (of course), because their Lord helps them in any way, but because, while he is powerful enough to harm them, he remains unharful. In the same way Montaigne says : "Les princes me donnent prou s'ils ne m'ôtent rien" (Princes give me much when they do not take).

3. My friend G. K. Nariman has made a good collection of the Buddhist references to the method of dealing with the dead, incineration, *stūpas*, exposure to birds and beasts¹. The comparison of the Pāli and Sanskrit *Mahānāmasūtras* shows perhaps that eastern or central India (home of Pāli Buddhism ?) had not the rules which prevailed in western India (home of Sanskrit Buddhism ?). While *Samyutta*, V, 369 or *Digha*, ii, 295 refer only to the *śmaśāna* where corpses are abandoned to the beasts of prey, the Sanskrit redaction of the *Mahānāmasūtra* (quoted in the *Abhidharmaśāśa*, iii, 30a) gives an exhaustive enumeration of *mātasya khalu kālagatasya jñātaya imam pūtikakāyam agninā vā dahanti udake vā plāvayanti bhūmau vā nikhananti vātāpābhūmī vā*

¹ Quelques parallèles entre le Bouddhisme et le Parsisme, Revue de l'histoire des religions, 1912, i, 85. — Prof. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 80.

pariśoṣam parikṣayam paryādānam gacchati;—there is “incineration, immersion, sepulchre (“enterrement”) and exposure of the body in a place where by the wind and the sun it becomes dry and finally disappears”. No more mention of the beasts of prey. The end of the sūtra is worth quoting: *vat punar idam ucyate cittam iti vā mana iti vā vijñānam iti vā śraddhāparibhāvitam śīlatyāgaśruta-prajñāparibhāvitam tad īrdhvagāmi bhavati viśeṣagāmy āyatyan svargopagam*: But what is called thought, mind or consciousness, when it is perfumed by faith, morality, gift, sacred instruction, sacred wisdom, that goes above, goes to a good state, goes in the future to the paradise.”

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

The Bhāsa Problem—A Reply

I have read with some interest the paper on the “Bhāsa Problem” of Mr. K. R. Pisharoti.

Mr. P. thinks that the want of requisite materials, which are scrupulously guarded by the professional actors of Kerala known as the Cākyars, has prevented Sanskritists from subjecting the conclusions of Mm. T. Ganapati Śāstri regarding Bhāsa's plays to a critical examination; that, as a Malayalee scholar interested in the old Kerala stage, he has had many opportunities of acquainting himself with its inner life so as to enable him to get at some interesting data bearing on the question of those plays; that his study of them in the light of these materials has led him to the conclusion that the author of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* was a neo-Bhāsa, a contemporary of Śrīharṣa of Kanouj; that there must have been two SVs., of one of which the published Trivandrum text bearing that name may only be a playwright's adaptation; and that Dr. T. Ganapati Śāstri, who has been maintaining his ground consistently so long, has apparently not come across these materials till now. While complimenting Mr. P. on the special facilities that he has possessed for research in this direction, we shall consider the nature and validity of the materials that he has marshalled forth in support of his contentions.

At the outset, he attempts to knock the very foundation from under the feet of the supporters of Bhāsa's authorship of the plays by pointing out that the verse, *Bhāsanāṭakacakra*, the *terra firma* on which they have built up their vast discussions, has not been properly understood by them, on account of its being detached from its context. The context, the last important verse of which has figured largely in the Bhāsa controversy, is then produced in its entirety as an extract from a work called *Kavivimarśa*, vaguely ascribed to Rājaśekhara.

1. "Kāraṇaiṇ tu kavitvasya na sampan na kulinatā,
Dhāvako'pi hi yad Bhāsaḥ kavinām agrimo'bhat.
2. Ādau Bhāsenā racitā nāṭikā Priyadarśikā,
Nirīrṣyasya rasajñasya kasya na priyadarśanā.
3. Tasya Ratnāvali nūnaī ratnamāleva rājate,
Daśarūpakakāminyā vakṣasy atyantaśobhanā.
4. Nāgānandaī samālokya yasya Śriharṣavikramajī,
Amandānandabharitaḥ svasabhyam akarot kavim.
5. Udāttarāghavai nūnam udāttarasagumphitam,
Yadvikṣya Bhavabhūtyādyāḥ praṇīnyur nāṭakāni vai.
6. Śokaparyavasānā yā navānīkā Kiraṇāvalī,
Mākandasyeva kasyādya pradadāti na nirvṛtim.
7. Bhāsanāṭakacakre'pi-cchekaiḥ kṣipte parīkṣitum,
Svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako'bhuṇ na pāvakah".

The muse of poetry has little regard for wealth or caste ; for Bhāsa, a washerman by caste, was the greatest of poets.

He wrote the three plays *Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgānanda* ; and king Śriharṣa having been pleased with them made the poet one of the courtiers of his court.

Bhāsa wrote another play called *Udāttarāghava* which served as a model for Bhavabhūti and other poets, and his other work *Kiraṇāvalī* is a tragedy in nine acts.

When all his plays were thrown into the fire (of criticism), one that survived the ordeal was SV.

These are the extract and its summary.

While unquestioningly accepting these as genuine verses of Rājaśekhara, Mr. P., however, doubts their reliability in the matter of their contents, inasmuch as they ascribe the *Ratnāvalī* and other plays to Bhāsa, against all precedent and literary tradition. He therefore sweepingly condemns the whole extract, including even the last verse, which is the only genuine one in the extract, and in like manner dismisses Rājaśekhara himself as an unreliable

authority. This, it has to be noted, is the one underlying mis. conception throughout his paper.

The extract is, in fact, known¹ to be a patch-work of truth and falsehood, which an ingenious Pandit had palmed off on some credulous Sanskritists, as an excerpt from a hypothetical work called the *Kavi-vimarṣa* whose authorship he had cleverly foisted on Rājaśekhara, in imitation of whose other verses the questionable ones were modelled. The last verse of this extract, *Bhāsanātakacakra*, occurs under *Sāmānya kavi-praśamsā* in the anthology, *Sūktimuktāvalī*, as that of poet Rājaśekhara. The anthology was compiled by Jalhaṇa,² a counsellor of the Yādava king Kṛṣṇa, who ruled over the Deccan in the second half of the 13th century A. D. It is an unpublished work and its manuscript exists in the Trivandrum Manuscripts Library and many other places. A large number of memorial verses about individual poets attributed to Rājaśekhara is found in the *Sūktimuktāvalī*, *Hārāvalī* and other anthologies, and as these verses have an important bearing on the history of Sanskrit literature, Dr. Peterson³ has already collected and grouped them together. The author of these verses is known to be the same as the author of the four dramas and the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*; and as these particular verses are not traceable in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* where they might naturally have been expected to be found, their source is surmised to be the *Haravilāsa*, a *kāvya* which has been also ascribed to him by Hemacandra⁴. But to the extract above quoted and its sources, namely the hypothetical *Kavi-vimarṣa*, there is no reference to be found in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. We have heard of an *Udāttarāghava*⁵ quoted by Dhanika and others, and *Kiranāvalī*, an incomplete work on logic by Udayanācārya; but the curious statement that Bhāsa wrote the UR. and the tragedy *Kiranāvalī* is in itself an evidence of the spuriousness of the major portion of the extract under reference, excepting the last verse, which has been independently authenticated as that of Rājaśekhara. A plausible explanation as to how the idea of

1 Vide page 373, fn. 5.

2 Dr. Bhāndarkar's *Report on the search of Sanskrit mss.*, 1887-1891, p. 7.

3 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xvii, pp. 57-71.

4 *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, intro., p. 17. (*Gaekwad Oriental Series*, no. I).

5 *Ind. Ant.*, xli (1912), p. 141.

this literary forgery originated, may be offered in this wise, that the subject-matter of the forged extract was coined in imitation of similar episodes mentioned in the following references—

1. Sarasvatipavitrāṇām jātis tatra na dehinām.

Vyāsaspardhī kulālo'bhud yad Droṇo Bhārata kaviḥ¹.

The hallowing touch of the Muse destroys all distinctions of caste. Did not the potter Droṇa write a Bhārata in emulation of Vyāsa himself?

2. Aho prabhāvo vāgdevyā yan mataṅgadivākarah,²

Śriharṣasyābhavat sabhyas samo Bāṇa- Mayūrayoh³.

All glory to the divine Muse. The outcaste poet Divākara, having been blessed by her, attained the position of a court poet of Śriharṣa even as Bāṇa and Mayūra.

3. Dhāvakaḥ kaviḥ ; sa hi Śriharṣanāmnā Ratnāvalīm kṛtvā bahu-dhanāṇ labdhavān⁴.

Dhāvaka composed the Ratnāvalī in the name of his royal patron Śriharṣa and obtained much wealth.

4. Prathitayaśasāṇ Dhāvaka-Saumilla-Kaviputtrādīnām prabandhāṇ atikramya vartamānakaveḥ Kālidāsasya kṛtau kīmkṛto bahu-mānah⁵.

Why do you praise so much the work of a modern poet Kālidāsa, disregarding the famous works of Dhāvaka, Saumilla, Kavi-putra and others?

It is certain therefore that there is no work in existence called the *Kavi-vimarṣa* and that the alleged extract is the product of a mischievous imagination. The theory that Bhāsa was the same as Dhāvaka, which was started by Mr. T. S. Narayana Sastri⁶, Madras, on the basis of this extract, was rejected by Sanskritists⁷, and all discussion about it was consigned to oblivion. We are

1 & 2 Ascribed to Rājaśekhara in anthologies : vide *JBBRAS.*, vol. xvii, pp. 57-71.

3. *Kavyapradīpoddhyota* of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, p. 5.

4. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, edited by Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati, Calcutta.

5. Vide his dissertation "Śriharṣa the Dramatist," Madras, 1902.

6. Ettinghausen's *Harṣavardhana*, pp. 100-102, n. 3 ; and R.-V. Krishnamacharyar's *Bhūmikā* in his edition of *Privadarśikā*, Srirangam, 1906.

sorry to note that Mr. P. has raked up this skeleton from a long-buried past, to terrorise us into accepting his neo-Bhāsa theory.

Then Mr. P. considers the genuineness of the published *SV*, and brings in his support the evidence of—1. The *Amarakoṣa-Tikūsarvasva* of Sarvānanda; 2. the *Locana* of Abhinavagupta; 3. the *Nātyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra; 4. the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa-ratnakoṣa* of Sāgaranandin and 5. the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Śāradātanaya. We shall now proceed to examine *seriatim* these five-fold items of evidence.

1. According to Mr. P. the quotation of Sarvānanda refers to the *kāma-śringāra* of Udayana and not to his *artha-śringāra*; and since the published text deals with the latter topic alone, it must be quite different from the *SV*. to which Sarvānanda refers and which might deal with Udayana's marriage with Vāsavadattā (*kāma-śringāra*). We have however to note that the quotation is defective and faulty; for in the exposition of the three kinds of *śringāras*, viz., *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, the quotation supplies references only to the first and the last, while the middle is left out of account. As it is quite unlikely that the author could have given such defective information, it has been suggested that the transposition¹ of a single word would give symmetry and completeness to the exposition; and in that case, the quotation may well be considered as referring to a single work *SV*. in illustration of the *Artha-* and *Kāma-śringāras*. These together, it must be noted, form the theme of the published text of the *SV*; for to the main current of Udayana's undying love for Vāsavādattā, the underlying sentiment in the plot, his love for Padmāvatī is but a nourishing tributary. It is clear from this that the published text is the *SV*. referred to by Sarvānanda. The principal incidents in the story of Udayana are his capture by Pradyota, his elopement with Vāsavadattā, and the recovery of his lost kingdom and queen, his marriage with Padmāvatī serving only as a means to the last. The first two episodes have been employed in the plot of the *Pratiñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*, while the last and momentous event in the story makes up the plot of the *SV*. Udayana's marriage with Vāsavadattā is not in itself such an eventful theme

¹ ग्रविद्वाम अत्मसात् कर्तुम् उदयनास्या पद्मावती परिणयोर्था-
श्रिंगारह स्वप्नवासवादत्तेः त्र्तियाह तस्यावा वासवादत्तपरि-
णयाह कामश्रिंगारह. (*Triv. Skt. Series*, No. 15 : Introduction, p. 7).

as to serve as the subject-matter for a drama; and the vast literary sources for Udayana's story refer only to his *elopement* with his queen Vāsavadattā and his later recovery of his kingdom and queen, but not to his *marriage* with her. Hence there is no possibility of a drama ever having been composed with its plot based on the incident of Udayana's marriage with Vāsavadattā.

2. As regards the verse quoted by Abhinavagupta in his *Locana*, we think that it cannot fitly belong to the published text, because not only is the context unsuited to the plot, but the literary style of the verse which is expressed in a long-drawn and grotesque metaphor contrasts very strongly with that true text of a pre-Kālidāsi composition, namely the simple and charming diction of the published text, unadorned with any rhetorical gloss. Moreover, Abhinavagupta quotes the verse as an example of poetry, where a poet unnaturally subordinates the *Rasa* (the poetical flavour) to a vain striving after rhetorical effect. We shall therefore be not far from right in considering that Abhinavagupta has in the present case wrongly attributed the verse to *SV*.

3. Mr. P. further argues that because the verse quoted in the *Nātyadarpana* as from the *SV*. of Bhāsa is not to be found in the published text, there must be another *SV*. where the missing verse might have occurred. But the mere absence of a verse or two is not in itself a sufficient reason for arguing that there must be another *SV*. where these verses might be traced. One might as well argue that, because a certain verse quoted by Kumārila-Bhaṭṭa in his *Tantra-vārtika* as¹ from the *Manu-smṛti* is not found in the extant text, there must be another *Smṛti* where that verse might be found. The fact, however, is that the missing verse will have to be traced to a lost recension of the *Manu-smṛti* from which Kumārila must have quoted the verse. Similarly, if a variorum edition of the *SV*. could be published, the verse quoted in the *Nātyadarpana* will certainly be discovered in that edition. But the learned editor of the Bhāsa plays has, however, proved that the absent verse must surely belong to the published *SV*. and that it very appositely fits in a clearly noticeable hiatus in the published text. (*Vide* his annotated edition, fourth impression, 1924).

4. Another arrow in Mr. P's quiver is that, because there is a variation between the quotation found in Sāgaranandin's work and

¹ p. 110 (Benares edition).

its counterpart in the published *SV*. this author must have quoted from the genuine drama, of which the Trivandrum version is only an adaptation. Against this argument, it may be pointed out, that the style and nature of the quotation bear unmistakable evidence to the fact that Sāgaranandin is quoting a portion of the prelude of the published text, only from memory. The expression *Padmāvatiya parijanena* is unpoetical and is common only in later-day dry commentaries. Quotations in the *Dasarūpaka* and *Sāhityadarpana* have also been found to vary from the published texts of their sources ; and these variations have similarly been explained as due either to the fact that the quotations belonged to lost recensions of the sources, or that the authors themselves made defective quotations from memory, in those days when there were not great facilities for reference and verification.

5. The *Bhāvaprakāśa* refers to six topics as dealt with in a *SV*, and these with one exception have been found to tally with the published text. This agreement coupled with the fact that the summary of the plot of the fifth act of a *SV*, given in the *Sringāraprakāśa* of Bhoja is the same as that of the published text, leaves no room for doubt in regard to the identity of the *SV* referred to by the two writers¹ and the Trivandrum text. But to Mr. P. the single exception is enough to prove that the published text is an adaptation. One other fact, namely, that *Bhāvaprakāśa* which mentions *SV*, has nothing to say about the peculiarities of the prelude of the published text, confirms, in Mr. P's opinion, his surmise that the latter is only an adaptation. This argument is certainly misleading ; for the negative factor that *Bhāvaprakāśa* does not expatiate on the peculiarities of the prelude, it does not follow that it is not genuine. The *Pādatāditaka-Bhāṇa*, which is quoted by Kṣemendra, Kuntaka and others, shares with the published text some of the peculiarities in regard to its prelude, and Abhinavagupta who also quotes from the *Bhāṇa* in his commentary on the *Nātyaveda* is also silent on this point. Will Mr. P. say that the *Bhāṇa* also is an adaptation ? The statement of Mr. P. further implies the supposition that the author of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* evolved his dramaturgy from a close study of the numerous works in Sanskrit literature. This is far from the truth. The author is a fourth-rate dramaturgist, and he has faithfully followed mostly the beaten track of his predecessors in the field.

¹ *JRAS.*, 1924, pp. 668-9.

So much about the evidence of Mr. P. to show that the published *SV.* is not genuine.

Then the language, dramatic technique and unity of the Bhāsa plays are examined in the light of further materials, which are as weak and as untrustworthy as those already noticed. We have no mind to tire the patient reader by examining all of them here, as these have been controverted by the editor of the *Bhāsa* plays in his forthcoming "Bhāsa Studies—A Criticism." We shall content ourselves with criticising only a few among them, as typical of Mr. P.'s 'materials'.

1. Mr. P. analyses the archaic beauty of the language and discovers it neither in the diction, the expressions, nor in the prākṛt; even as the proverbial chemist who analysed the tears of his weeping wife into phosphates of lime, soda, and water, without being able to find out the reason of her weeping. The beauty of a piece of art consists not in its component parts but in its unity, in its manner rather than in its matter. That the *SV.* is characterised by a virile archaic beauty of language, compared with which even that of Kālidāsa looks modern, has however been acknowledged by the *Sahṛdayas* of the East and the West.

2. It is said that the variety of names such as *Vāsavadatta*, *Svapna-nāṭaka*, and *Vāsavadattā-nāṭaka* under which the work has been known indicates that it is not genuine. Ancient writers are found to shorten the titles of the works they quoted; for instance, *Raghuvanśa* is found abridged as *Raghu*, *Kumārasambhava* as *Kumāra*, *Kirātārjunīya* as *Kirāta*; but the *SV.* has had no such abridged titles and the authors who have referred to it have done so by its full name. *Svapna-nāṭaka* and *Vāsavadattā-nāṭaka* appear to be only the titles of the scribe's coinage. In illustration of this fecundity of the scribe's imagination may be cited one funny instance, wherein a manuscript of this drama found in the house of a Pisharodi gentleman of North Travancore bore the curious title of *Niṣkrāntasarva-nāṭaka*; and on enquiry it eventually turned out that this novel christening was the work of the owner himself, who seeing the ending colophon of the text *nīṣkrāntāḥ sarve* forthwith docketed the manuscript as the *Niṣkrāntasarva-nāṭaka*.

3. Each act of the published text having a separate name is not a point in favour of its being a playwright's adaptation, as Mr. P. thinks; for each of the ten Acts of the *Mṛcchakatīka* has a separate name, viz., *Alaikāranyāsa*, *Dyūtakarasamvāhaka*, *Sandhiccheda*, *Madarikāśarvilaka*, *Durdina*, etc.

4. The non-mention of the name of the work and its author in the prelude of the published text does not necessarily connote that

the text had no definite name, shape, or author ; for we find similar omissions in the case of the *Ubbhayābhishīrṇika* which has a definite name, author, and shape.

From all these considerations, it will be evident that the materials, which Mr. P. has arrayed before us to establish that the published *SV.* is a playwright's adaptation and that there are more than one *SV.* and *Bhāsa*, have not achieved their purpose and the attribution of the *SV.* to the ancient dramatist *Bhāsa* remains on as solid a foundation as ever.

G. HARIHAR SASTRI

Hindu Theories of the Origin of Kingship and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal

In his work entitled 'Hindu Polity,' Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has treated *inter alia* the speculations of the ancient Indian thinkers relating to the origin of kingship, or more generally, of the State. His views on this important subject, needless to say, deserve the most careful consideration of every student of Indian antiquities, and it is this task which we have attempted to set before ourselves in the present paper.

Let us begin by analysing the principal points of his thesis :

I The "vedic theory" implied that kingship had its origin in war, or to state more correctly, in election under the stress of war. This "suggests" that "that the institution of kingship was borrowed [by the Aryans] from the Dravidians" (Pt. II, pp. 4-5).

II The Arājaka democrats who propounded a "theory of extreme individualism" held that the State was founded on the basis of Social Contract (Pt. I, pp. 172-173).

III The "political writers" (otherwise called the 'scientists') laid down a "contractual theory of the origin of monarchy" which was a monarchist adaptation of the "republican theory of contract" (Pt. I, p. 173 ; Pt. II, p. 5).

IV The theory of the *Manusamhitā* which was the "nearest Hindu approach to the divine theory of kingship" had "no direct support in earlier literature". It was started to "support an

abnormal state of affairs opposed to law and tradition, viz., political rule by Brahmin" (sic.), and was "never approved or adopted by a single subsequent law-book" (Pt. II, pp. 54-58).

V From the above it appears that the Hindu king was held to be a servant of the State and his office was taken to be a trust (Pt. II, pp. 185, 188).

We shall now consider the above points in detail.

I As regards the vedic theory of the origin of kingship the text quoted by J. (Ait. Br., I, 14) is not the only evidence bearing on this point. Assuming, as J. does, that the divine sovereignty of Indra can rightly be taken to be a reflex of the human sovereignty of the earthly king, we have to mention in this connexion at least one other Vedic *ākhyāyikā* which leads to a quite different conclusion. The whole passage (Taitt. Br., II, 2. 10-12) may be quoted in full. "Prajāpatirindramasṛjatānujāvaraṁ devatānām/ tam prāhiṇo/ pare hi/ eteśām devānām adhipatiredhiti/ tam devā abruvan/ kastvamasi/ vayam vai tvacchreyāṁsaḥ sma iti/ mā devā avocanniti/ atha vā idam tarhi prajāpatau hara āśit/ yadasminnāditye/ tadenamabravit/ etanme prayaccha/ athāhameteśām devānām adhipatirbhaviṣyāmīti/ ko'ham syāmityabravit/ etat pradāyeti/ etat syāmityabravit/ yadetat bravīṣīti/ ko vai nāma prajāpatih/ ya evam veda/ vidurenam nāmnā/ tadasmai rukmaṇī kṛtvā pratyamuñcat/ tato vā indro devānāmadhipatirabhavat/ ya evam veda/ adhipati-reva samānānām bhavati." It is evident that what we have here is not a theory of election, but of creation of kingship by the will of the Supreme Deity. As regards the further observation of J. that Ait. Br., I, 14 suggests the institution of kingship to have been borrowed by the Indo-Aryans from the Dravidians, it must, we are afraid, be treated as too original to deserve any serious notice. For its acceptance involves a number of unproved assumptions. These are :—

- 1 that in pre-Aryan times the Dravidians had kings,
- 2 that the aborigines with whom the Aryans came in contact belonged ethnically to the Dravidian stock,
- 3 that the Aryans with their known aversion towards the aborigines did not hesitate to borrow one of their most important institutions from them.

Nor, again, does the evidence of historical analogy support J's theory. In the parallel case of the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain, it was not by borrowing from the conquered people but through the necessities of the situation, which called for a common and

permanent leader in war, that the institution of the kingship came into general use.

II No. 2 is a brilliant example of the author's ingenuity in discovering the hidden meaning of familiar facts. Before the publication of the Hindu Polity, 'arājaka' was held in all quarters to have only one meaning relating to kinglessness or anarchy. But J. with characteristic boldness gives it an original significance in the sense of a 'non-ruler State' and accords it a place in his list of Hindu 'technical constitutions'. By it he means an idealistic constitution in which law instead of an individual was taken to be the ruler and which was based on "mutual agreement or social contract between the citizens". Now what are the grounds on which this novel interpretation of a very familiar term is sought to be based? "The technical 'Arājaka,'" we are told (H. P., Pt. I, p. 97n), "cannot mean anarchy as this is indicated by a special term mātsyanyāya". But that 'Arājaka' was a technical term and not, as is ordinarily held, a popular expression for anarchy, is precisely the point requiring to be proved. The sole evidence on which J. relies (cf. Pt. I, p. 99) is the well-known and oft-quoted text of the Jaina Āyārāṅga Sutta (II, 3. 1. 10) forbidding monks and nuns to pass through certain countries which are specified as follows:—

arāyāṇi vā gaṇarāyāṇi vā yuvarāyāṇi vā verajjāṇi vā viruddha-
rajjāṇi vā.

Here there is nothing to justify J.'s assumption of a reference in every case to real and historical forms of government, and consequently his interpretation of 'arājaka' must be dismissed as not proven.

Having thus invoked an imaginary 'Arājaka constitution' "based on the rule of law," J. must needs father on its exponents an equally imaginary theory of the basis of the State. The texts quoted by J. in support of his view occur in the course of the two well-known stories of the origin of monarchy in the Śāntiparvan (chs. LIX and LXVII). Now admitting that the Śāntiparvan in its existing form has incorporated a mass of earlier materials, one may be permitted to doubt very much whether a portion of the text torn from its context and not described (as the ancient narratives are) in the form of 'itihāsam purātanam', can safely be attributed to a class of authors ('Arājaka democrats') whose existence is unknown to history.

III The theories of the origin of kingship in the Arthaśāstra, the Mānusāṃhitā, and the Mahābhārata, which J. ascribes to the 'political writers' (or the "scientists") are undoubtedly very remarkable of their kind. But to characterize them as examples of the contrac-

tual origin of kingship is to give an altogether one-sided, and therefore imperfect, view of their true nature. For, first, let it be noted that the person with whom the 'contract' is supposed to be made is not an ordinary mortal but is a superhuman being,—Manu Vaivasvata, progenitor of the present race of living beings (according to Aś., I, 13), Manu the father of the human race (*Sāntiparvan*, ch. LXVII), or else Pṛthu who traced his descent from Virajas, the mind-begotten son of Brahmā (Ibid., ch. LIX). In the first instance, again, the theory of election is supplemented by that of quasi-sanctity of the king, from which follows the doctrine of sinfulness of slighting royalty¹. In the last two cases we are told in graphic language how it was by the direct act of the supreme god, Brahmā or Viṣṇu, moved thereto by the acute distress of the people, that a ruler was set over them². How very remote this is from the idea of 'contractual origin of kingship'. And going back for a moment to the three accounts above mentioned, we are tempted to ask how very one-sided after all is the element of contract that actually enters into their composition. In the Aś. the contract is implied and not expressed, and its result is stated to be that the king is *spiritually* responsible for his misgovernment, while he is entitled to his usual one-sixth share even from hermits dwelling in the forest. It follows that the subjects have no explicit authority to bring the king to account for his misdeeds and inflict upon him temporal penalties, but he must needs be made subject to spiritual sanctions. Similarly in ch. LXVII of the *Sāntiparvan* the people are said to have entered into an agreement with Manu, the king-designate, but the agreement which was meant to overcome Manu's reluctance to rule only stipulated for the subjects' payment of the royal dues and their granting the king immunity from their own sins³. In ch. LIX, it is true, Pṛthu, the first 'king' (*rājan*) is said after his miraculous birth to have complied with a long list of promises ending in the famous *pratijñā* ('coronation-oath') (cf. H. P., Pt. II, pp. 46-47). But J., while quoting the context in which this important statement occurs in full, fails to reproduce the whole story and thus helps to present a distorted version of its true constitutional significance. For, in the lines following

1. Aś. I. 13. Indrayamasthānametadrājānah pratyakṣahedaprasādāḥ/ tānavamanyamānān daivo'pi daṇḍāḥ sprśati/ tasmādrājāno nāvamān-tavyāḥ//

2. Cf. Śānti, LIX, 87 ff; Ibid., LXVII, 20 ff.

3. See loc. cit., 22 29.

those describing Pṛthu's consecration, Bhīṣma is made to explain, obviously in reply to the latter part of Yudhiṣṭhīra's query ("why does one man rule over the many who are his equals in all respects"?), that the Lord Viṣṇu entered the person of the king, whence kings are reverenced by the people as gods. Why should the people submit to one man, the royal sage goes on, except for his divine quality? A god is born on earth as king after his stock of spiritual merit is exhausted, and is endowed with Viṣṇu's divine majesty. As he is established by the gods, no one transcends him and every person submits to his authority¹. It will be seen from the above that the idea of the coronation-oath is here swamped, if not superseded, by that of the king's divine nature which is explicitly declared to be the basis of his rule over his subjects.

IV The well-known account of the origin of kingship in the Mānavadharmaśāstra undoubtedly carries the king's authority to a high pitch. But is it correct to state that it had "no direct support in the earlier literature"? The divine creation of the human king is already foreshadowed in the story of the creation of Indra's sovereignty by Prajāpati in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa that we have cited above. Furthermore, the description of the coronation ritual in the Brāhmaṇas would itself without "twisting" "support" the theory of the king's divine nature. In the accounts of the great ceremonies of royal consecration in the later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, we are again and again told how the yajamāna is raised by the sacred act of the ritual to the status of the gods. The following passages that are relevant to this case may be mentioned in this connexion. The Śat. Br., describing one of the rites of the Vājapeya, says (V, 2, 2, 14-15) : tad bṛhaspater evainam etatsāyujyam salokatāṁ gamayati...devebhyo nivedayatyayam mahaviryo yo' bhyaṣe-cityayam yuṣmākaiko' bhūtam gopāyateti. In another place (V. 2 I. 11) it states; prajāpateḥ prajā abhūmeti prajāpaterhyeṣa prajā bhavati yo vājapeyena yajate. In connexion with the Rājasūya, we have the following : Śat. Br., V. 4. 3. 4 : eṣa Indro bhavati yacca kṣatriyo yadu ca yajamānah : Tāṇḍya Mahābr., XVIII, 10. 10 : yadvai rājasūyenābhiṣicyate tat svargam lokamārohati. For the Aśvamedha, Śat. Br., XIII, 4. 4. 3 says : tad yadenāṁ devaiḥ samgāyanti devairevaināṁ tatsalokāṁ kurvanti ; Taitt. Br., III, 9. 20. 2 : aśvenaiva medhyena prajāpateḥ sāyujyāṁ salokatāmāpnoti/ etāsāmeva devatānāṁ sāyujyam sārṣṭitāṁ

¹ See Śanti, LIX, 128, 131, 134-135.

samānalokatām āpnoti yo'svamedhena yajate. This doctrine of divine sanctity of the Kṣatriya yajamāna or the king is held in one important Brāhmaṇa passage to be the basis of his rule over his subjects. We refer to Śat. Br., I. 5. 14 where it is said with reference to a Rājasūya rite making the sacrificer shoot to a certain distance with an arrow, 'tad yat rājanyaḥ pravidhyati eṣa vai prajāpateḥ pratyakṣtamāṇ yat rājanyastasmād ekaḥ san bahūnāmiṣte.

Not merely in its antecedents but also in its later history is the Mānava account of the origin of kingship related to other canonical works. It would indeed be exceedingly strange if one of the most characteristic doctrines of the Manusamhitā were "not" to be "approved or adopted by a single subsequent law-book". For was it not a Smṛti writer who declared : vedārthopanibandhṛtvāt prādhānyam hi manoh smṛtam/ manvarthaviparitā yā sā smṛtir na praśasyate¹. Nor does the reason advanced by J. for the alleged unique character of Manu's theory commend itself to our approval. For assuming that the Mānavadharmaśāstra was written to support the rule of the Brāhmaṇa Puṣyamitra, was not "political rule by a Brāhmaṇa" sanctioned by the Smṛtis as an āpaddharma²? Reverting to the point which immediately concerns us, what is the evidence tending to show that Manu's theory "failed miserably"? J. claims the authority of constitutional writers to the effect that the Mānava doctrine was transformed into a "divine theory of the servitude of the king to the subject". But the only "writer" who holds this view is the author of the Śukranīti, and his famous doctrine (I. 188) is not even once mentioned or attended to by J. either in the present context or in the two chapters to which reference is made in the footnote. On the other hand theories of kingship resembling that of Manu are found in many of the later "law-books" and Purāṇas. We have room for a few examples. Nārada (XVII, 21-22) rakṣādhikārādiśatvādbhūtānugrahadarśanāt/ yadeva kurute rājā tat-pramāṇamiti sthitih// nirbalo'pi yathā strīṇām pūjya eva patiḥ sadā/ prajānām viguno' pyevam pūjya eva prajāpatih//; Ibid. 26 : pañca rūpāṇi rājāno dhārayantyamitaujasah/ agnerindrasya somasya

I Bṛhaspati, quoted by Kullūka in his com. on MS., I. 1.

2 Cf. MS., x, 81 ; Yāj., III, 3, 5 etc. Medhātithī commenting on the former verse says : yadāsyā śarīrakuṭumbasvanityakarmāyasāde bhavati—tadā kṣatriyavat grāmanagararakṣādinā ūastradhāraṇādinā sati sambhave sarvādhipatyena jīvet.

yamasya dhandasya ca// ; Ibid., 52 : śuciścaivāśucih samyak kathaīn rājā na daivatam/ ; Ibid., 54-55 : lokeśminmaṅgalānyāṣṭau brāhmaṇo gaurhutāśanah/ hiranyaṁ sarpīr āditya āpo rājā tathāś-ṭamāḥ// etāni satataṁ paśyennamasyedarcayet svayam/ pradakṣiṇam ca kurvīta yathāsyāyuh pravardhate// ; Br̥hatparāśara (quoted in Rājanītiprakāśa, p. 23) : ājñā nṛpāṇām paramāṇ hi tejo yastām na manyeta sa ṣastrāvadhyah/ śrūyācca kuryācca vadecca bhūbhṛt tadeva kāryāṇ bhūvi sarvalokaiḥ// durdharsatīvrāṁśusamānadipter brūyāṁ manusyah paruṣāṇ nṛpasya/ yastasya tejo'pyavamanyamānah sadyah sa pañcatvamupaiti pāpāt//

V To argue in the face of the above that in the Hindu theory the king was a servant of the State and his office was a trust is to admit the validity of one set of facts to the exclusion of another set of at least equal indisputability. How strong a spell the sentiment of divine sanctity of the king cast upon the Hindu mind may best be gauged from its survival down to modern times. In a famous Bengal Vaiṣṇava work of the early 17th century, a Hindu officer of the Moslem court is represented quite naturally as addressing his master, an unconsecrated Yavana, as a part of Viṣṇu¹. And is it not a matter of common knowledge that to the present day the Raja of Puri is popularly known as Calantī Viṣṇu.

G.

Two remarks on Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's Hindu Polity

I

In H. P., Pt. I, p. 4 (repeated, ed. Rājanītiratnākara, Intro., pp. 1 & n.) Mr. K. P. Jayaswal claims to have discovered the existence of an old Arthaśāstra writer called Āditya. But the text on which he relies (Āsv. Gr. Sūtra, III. 12. 16) occurs in the midst of a section on battle-rites, and it cannot be made by any accepted canon of evidence to support this discovery. In the original it runs as follows :—ādityamauśanasam vāvasthāya prayodhayet”.

¹ See the Caitanyacaritāmṛtam of Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj, Madhya-līlā, eh, I. The passage referred to occurs in the course of the address of the Dabir Khas to Alauddin Hussain Shah, and runs as follows :—tumi narādhipa hao Viṣṇu amṣa sama.

Which Nārāyaṇa in his vṛtti explains as—

Yasyām diśi ādityas tāṁ diśam āsthāya ahani cet/ rātrau ced
yasyām diśi śukras tāṁ diśam parigṛhya yodhayed rājā/ na pratyā-
dityah yudhyeta nāpi pratiśukram ityarthah.

Thus 'Āditya' and 'Uśanas' would seem in the above passage to refer to the direction of the sky in which the Sun and Venus happen to be placed. That this is the correct sense, would also appear from the occurrence of the word 'diś' in the immediately preceding sūtra: sarvā diśo' nupariryāyāt—which is explained by the commentator 'atha rājā sarvā diśo rathenānukramena gacchet.'

II

In Ch. XXV of H. P. (pp. 27-28) Mr. J., while explaining the constitutional significance of the coronation ritual in the Brāhmaṇas, quotes a passage of the Ait. Br. (VIII, 15) relating to its description of the Mahābhiseka of kings. This passage is taken by him, without any qualification, to establish the institution of the coronation-oath. Now the text along with the relevant parts of the context stands as follows :—

Sa ya icched evanīvit kṣatriyamayaṁ sarvā jitirjayeta...tam etenaindreṇa mahābhisekeṇa kṣatriyam śāpayitvā abhiśiñcet/ yām ca rātrīmajāyethā yām ca pretāsi tadubhayamantareṇestāpūrtam te lokam suktamāyuh prajām vṛñjīyaṇ yadi me druhyeriti/ sa ya icched evanīvit kṣatriyoḥam sarvā jitirjayeyamaham.....sa brūyāt saha śradhdhayā yām ca rātrīm etc. (up to prajām as above) vṛñjīthā yadi te druhyeeyamiti. From the fact of the adiministration of the oath by the ācārya and the king's reply to him in the second person singular (cf. vṛñjīthā yadi te druhyeeyam) it is evident that what we have here is the king's solemn promise of protection to the individual priest and not a general promise of protection of the subjects. In interpreting the above extract, however, Mr. J. ignores the context altogether, and translates (p. 28) the passages within brackets as 'May I be deprived of, if I oppress you'. Thus he lends himself to the charge of distorting the sense to suit his own preconceived theory:

G.

'Technical Hindu Constitutions'

In part I, chapter X of his *Hindu Polity*, Mr Jayaswal tries to clear up the meanings of the terms '*bhaujya*', '*svārūjya*', '*vairājya*', etc. found in use in Sanskrit, Pāli, or Jaina literature. I do not think that his attempt has improved the situation. Sāyaṇa's explanation of the terms is based more or less upon their literal meanings and does not give us any clue by which we can come to the conclusion that some of them were not names of the monarchical forms of government prevailing in the various parts of India. That these names were current in the different parts of India is clear from the fact that Indra was installed by the gods as *samrāṭ* in the east, as *bhoja* in the south, as *svarāṭ* in the west, as *virāṭ* in the north, and as *rājā* in the central region (*Ait. Br.*, viii, 14). It is difficult to state that at the time when the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* was composed, there were different forms of democratic government in the parts of India mentioned above and that some of the aforesaid names were appellations of these forms of democratic government. It may be that in later times, some of the aforesaid parts of India witnessed the evolution of democratic forms of government, e. g. the eastern region, where the Licchavis and other self-governing communities established their dominions, but this does not ensure the fact that the terms in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* indicate the existence of democratic forms of government in the different regions at the time of the composition of the *Brāhmaṇa*.

Mr. J. states that he has been able to have light on the subject from the *Anguttara Nikāya* and the inscriptions of Aśoka. According to him a passage of the *Anguttara Nikāya* (pt. iii, p. 76) enumerates the careers open to a *kulaputta*. The context however shows that the passage is not meant for such enumeration. To give a clear idea of the context, I quote here the passage :

"Yassa kassaci Mahānāma kulaputtassa pañca dhammā samvijjanti, yadi vā ṛañño khattiyassa muddhābhisittassa yadi vā ratthikassa

¹ According to Sāyaṇa, *sāmrājyam* is *dharmaṇa pālanam* (righteous government), *bhaujyam bhogaśamṛddhiḥ* (increase of enjoyment), *svārūjyam aparāḍhānatvam* (absence of dependence on others), *vairājyam itarebhyo bhūpatibhyo vaiśiṣṭyam* (enjoyment of more distinguished qualities than possessed by other kings). See my *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 13, fn. 9.

pettanikassa yadi vā senāya senāpatikassa yadi vā gāmagānikassa yadi vā pūgagāmanikassa, ye vā pana kulesu paccekādhipaccan kārenti, vuddhi yeva pātikañkhā, no parihāni. Katame pañca ?

Idha Mahānāma kulaputto utthānaviriyādhigatehi bhogehi bāhā-balaparicitehi sedāvakkhittehi dhammikehi dhammadaddhehi mātāpitaro sakkaroti garukaroti..... Mātāpitānukampitassa Mahānāma kulaputtassa vuddhi yeva pātikañkhā, no parihāni.

Puna ca param Mahānāma.....peputtadāradāsakamma-karaporise sakkaroti...pe...no parihāni.

Puna ca param.....khettakammantasāmantasamvohārepe.....no parihāni.

Puna ca param.....balipatiggāhikā devatā...pe...no parihāni.

Puna ca param.....samanabrahmaṇe.....pe...no parihāni".

Buddha addressing Mahānāma surprised at the sudden change in the conduct of the Licchavi youths, who instead of doing mischief were sitting silent in a respectful mode before Buddha, said that if a *kulaputta* (youngman of good family) such as a duly consecrated kṣattriya king, a hereditary ruler of a rāṣṭra, a military commander, a village headman, a head of a guild, in short, those who singly exercise control over families, possess the following five qualities (pañca dhammā), he will prosper. The five qualities consist in the performance of duties (1) towards parents, (2) towards children, wife, etc., (3) towards field-labourers etc., (4) towards the gods who take offering, and (5) towards samaṇa-brāhmaṇas.

The passage which Mr. J. has quoted as fn. 2 (pt. I, p. 89) has been made to come abruptly to a stop after the word 'kārenti'. The sentence however does not stop there but continues in the way shown above. The words 'ratthika, pettanika' in the passage have been taken by Mr. J. to be of the same signification as 'Rastika' and 'Pitinika' of Aśoka's Rock Edicts V and XIII. He tells us that "Aśoka in his inscriptions equates Bhoja with Ratthika or Rāṣṭrika. The commentary on the *Anguttara Nikāya* explains the 'Pettanika' as being hereditary leadership (*sāpateyya*), come down from forefathers (*pitarūdattam sāpateyyam*, *Anguttara*, III, Indices, p. 456; again *bhuttānubhuttam bhuñjati*, commentary at (sic.) p. 300). The Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojakas or Bhojas as opposed to Pettanikas apparently meant non-hereditary leadership. *Sāpateyyam* (together-leadership) suggests that in each case there were more than one leader." The argument that because the expression 'Bhoja-pitinikesu' occurs in Rock Edict XIII, and 'Rastika-pitinika' in Rock Edict V, therefore 'Bhoja' should be equated with 'Rāṣṭrika'

is fallacious. It will be seen that in R. Edict V, the names that are found, are in the following order—‘Yona Kamboja Gandhāra Rāstika Petenika Aparātā’ while in R. Edict XIII we find ‘Yona Kāmboja Nābhaka Nābhapaṇti Bhoja Pitinika Andhra Pulinda’. If the reason given by Mr. J. be consistently followed, then the ‘Gandhāras’ should be equated with the ‘Nābhaka Nābhapaṇtis’, which is impossible. According to the latest interpretation of the edicts, the ‘rastikas’ are taken to be the inhabitants of Mahārāṣṭra, and the ‘pitinikas’ to be very probably the inhabitants of Paithan. In view of these facts, the Bhojas cannot be identified with the Rāṣṭrikas. Moreover, ‘ratṭhika’ and ‘pettanika’ of the *Ānguttara Nikāya* cannot be the same as the ‘rastikas’ and the ‘pitinikas’ of the Edicts, because in the former, Buddha is referring to an individual and using ‘pettanika’ as a qualifying epithet of ‘ratṭhika’ meaning a hereditary ruler of a rāṣṭra. That pettanika is a qualifying epithet of ratṭhika is also apparent from the use of the words ‘yadi vā’ in the text separating the references to the various individuals from one another. The commentary on the *Ānguttara Nikāya* does not support the interpretation that ‘pettanika’ means the hereditary leadership (sāpateyya) of a gaṇa or saṅgha. Moreover, ‘sāpateyya’ in Pāli does not mean ‘together-leadership’ or ‘board (of leaders)’ as the word ‘sāpateyya’ (Skt. svāpateya) means ‘property.’ The detached quotation from the Index to the *Āng. Nik.* (III, p. 456) viz. ‘pitarādattam sāpateyyam’ and ‘bhuttānubhuttam bhuñjati’ have, I think, misled Mr. J. The commentary on the passage from the *Ānguttara Nikāya*, p. 76 is given below to enable the readers to judge for themselves :

“Ratṭhikassāti adīsu ratṭham bhuñjatīti ratṭhiko. Pitā dattam sāpateyam bhuñjatīti pettaniko. Senāya pati jetṭhakoti senāpatikō. Gāmagāmikassāti gāmānam gāmikassa gāmagāmikassāti attho. Pugāmaṇikassāti gaṇajetṭhakassa.”

The commentary to p. 300 of the text runs thus : “Rātṭhikoti yo ratṭham bhuñjati. Pettanikoti yo pitā bhuttānubhuttam bhuñjati. Senāpatikoti senāya jetṭhako. Gāmagāmikoti gāmabhojako. Pugāmaṇikoti gaṇajetṭhakako”.

The passage from the *Mahābhārata* (Śānti, ch. 68, śl. 54—Rājā bhojo virāt samrāt kṣatriyo bhūpatir nṛpah, ya ebhiḥ stūyate śabdaiḥ kas tam nārccitum arhati) cited at p. 90 of the *Hindu Polity* mentions the different appellations applicable to a king. The reference in Khāravela inscription to the paraphernalia of sovereignty possessed by the Rāṣṭrikas and the Bhojakas is of little significance for our purpose.

until it is shown that from the time of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* the two peoples had a democratic form of government called, according to Mr. J., 'Bhaujya' with non-hereditary leadership. From this passage it cannot be inferred that the Bhojas had a particular type of democratic government. In view of what has been stated above, it cannot be said that the Bhojas identified with the Rāṣṭrikas had the Bhaujya form of democracy which gave its name to the people, and that the Pettanikas had a democratic form of government in which leadership was hereditary and there were two or more leaders simultaneously. The passage from the *Ānguttara Nikāya* throws no light whatsoever on the point and Mr. J's arguments do not at all improve the situation.

Now as to *svārājya* : According to Mr. J., it signifies in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* a peculiar democratic constitution prevailing in Western India. The *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, according to him, adds that [a wise man (*vidvān*) sacrifices by the Vājapeya and obtains *svārājya* i. e. becomes a *svarāt* (self-ruler or president) by attaining *jyaisthā* (eldership) or the leadership among equals. This election was based upon merit, for Indra who is said to have obtained the *svārājya* consecration is described as having proved his merit. The members of the gaṇa according to the *Mahābhārata* were considered to be equals (*sad sās sarve*). By piecing together all these evidences, he thinks that the *svārājya* was a form of gaṇa, the president of which was elected by the vājapeya sacrifice (Mr. J's *Hindu Polity*, ch. X, p. 91). Now let us examine one by one the premises upon which he bases his conclusion :

The passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* says only this that Indra was consecrated to *svārājya* among the Nīcyas and the Apācyas of Western India. This passage is silent as to whether *svārājya* was only a local appellation for royal dignity current among the two peoples of Western India or whether it was a democratic constitution of which the *svarāt* was the president. Light is sought to be derived from the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The passage from the former has not been properly interpreted by Mr. J. It runs thus : Tenāyajata. Sa svārājyam agacchat. Tam Indro'bavit imam anen yājayeti. Tenendram ayājayat, so'gram devatānām paryait, agacchat svārājyam, ātiśthantāsmai jyaisthāya. Ya evam vidvān vājapeyena yajate gacchati svārājyam, agram samānānām paryeti, tiśhante'smai jyaisthāya. Sa vā esa brāhmaṇasya caiva rājanyasya ca yajñah.

There are three points in the above quotation adverse to Mr. J's view :

(1) If *svārājya* was a democratic constitution, how is it that Brhaspati a priest and not a ksattriya was consecrated to it by the performance of the *vājapeya* sacrifice and obtained *svārājya*.

(2) Mr. J. draws an analogy between the passage in the *Taitt. Br.* and that on the gaṇas in the *Mbh.* and on the strength of that analogy, he draws the inference that the performer of the *vājapeya* sacrifice attained to the presidentship of a gaṇa. The portions of the Vedic passage important for the present discussion are :—

- (a) ya evam vidvān vājapeyena yajate ;
- (b) ātiṣṭhantāsmai jyaiṣṭhāya and
- (c) agram samānānām paryeti.

Mr. J. thinks that the passage (a) has reference to the wisdom of the performer, as election to presidentship required that the president elected should have merit, which in the present case is 'wisdom'. But 'evam vidvān' in the passage means 'knowing thus' i.e. knowing the story that Brhaspati and Indra had performed the sacrifice in the past and got the benefit derivable from it. The use of 'evam vidvān' in the sense of 'knowing thus' is common in Vedic literature e. g. *Aitr. Br.*, I, 22 ; I, 30 ; cf. Profs. Haug and Keith's translations of these passages.

The interpretation of the passages (b) and (c) in the light of the passage on the gaṇas in the *Mbh.* (XII, 107, ślks 6-32) has led Mr. J. to the conclusion that the performer of the *vājapeya* sacrifice attained to the eldership or presidentship (of a gaṇa) by election from among his equals. The passage in the *Mbh.* has this verse : jātyā ca sadṛśāḥ sarve kuleṇa sadṛśāstathā' (i. e. the members of the gaṇa were similar in regard to jāti and kula), which appears to Mr. J. to be of the same import as (c) supplemented by (b) quoted above. But though the meanings of the Vedic and the Epic passages may look similar, the resemblance is only superficial. In the epic passage on the gaṇas, there is reference to the ganamukhyas, who should be obeyed by the members of the gaṇa and should transact the more onerous business of the state. So it becomes evident that a few individuals were elected to ganamukhyaship from among the rest of the members of the gaṇa equal by jāti and kula. In the Vedic passage, however, there is no reference to any democratic constitution. There is reference only to *svārājya* which, when applied to Brhaspati, can mean only the foremost position among the priests and when applied to Indra may mean royal dignity called *svārājya* by the Nicyas and Apācyas. Then, again, there is ambiguity in the epic passage as to whether there were several ganamukhyas in a gaṇa.

or only one *gaṇamukhya*.¹ If the former, the president of a *gaṇa* was elected from among the *gaṇamukhyas* who themselves were not presidents. In view of all these difficulties, it cannot be inferred from the mere use of the words of superficially similar import in the vedic and the epic passages that *svārājya* meant a democratic government in the vedic period.

(3) The last sentence of the vedic passage states that the *vājapeya* sacrifice is performed only by the members of the *brāhmaṇa* or the *kṣattriya* caste. It was usually the latter who used to be rulers, and hence the *svārājya* attained by the members of the *brāhmaṇa* caste as the result of the performance of the *vājapeya* sacrifice was very different from rulership and meant only the 'foremost position'. That this may not be the meaning of the term when applied to the *kṣattriyas* is yet to be proved. As the rulers were generally *kṣattriyas*, the foremost among the *kṣattriyas* was the ruler. This position has no special connection with democratic government.

I have not been convinced by the arguments put forward by Mr. J. to prove that 'vairājya' meant in the vedic period 'kingless constitution.' This meaning of the term has been suggested to Mr. J. by Dr. Haug's translation of the passage. According to Dr. Haug, the word can have two meanings, viz., (1) without king, and (2) a very distinguished king, though the passage from the *Kauṭiliya* (viii, 2) and the commentaries thereon show the possibility of a third meaning of the term. To this we shall turn later on. Now in the passages from the *Aitr. Br.* the first signification has been thought by him appropriate for the reason that the *janapadāḥ* as opposed to the *kings* have been mentioned as *abhiṣikta* in this

¹ In vedic literature, *svārājya* means superiority of various sorts. In the *Śāṅkh. Śr. S.*, xv, 11, Vāk attained *svārājya* over all beings (*bhūtānām śraiṣṭhyam svārājyam ādhipatyam*) by her control over the power of speech (Ibid., xv, 12). Again Varuṇa gained for his kingdom a supreme position (*rājyānām śraiṣṭhyam svārājyam ādhipatyam*). In the passages xiv, 26, and xvi, 15 of the same work, *svārājya* has been taken by the commentator to mean *jñātiśraiṣṭhya* and *mānasī siddhi* respectively. So there is nothing peculiar to the term indicating that it meant the presidentship of a *gaṇa*. Similar is the case with the word *jyaisthyam*. It means in a passage of the *Śāṅkh. Śr. S.* (xiv, 31) a high position that can be attained by one of a low family by the performance of the *Jyeṣṭhastoma* sacrifice.

passage, while in the other passages of the chapter, we find the kings as consecrated. The objections to this interpretation are :

(1) If the whole lands or the whole peoples were consecrated to sovereignty, could not this have been done symbolically through the king who used to be called 'virāt' ?

(2) So far as I see, there is no ceremony by which a whole nation as opposed to a king was consecrated to rulership. On the other hand, there is in the *Śāṅkhāyanī Śrauta Sūtra* (xiv, 30) mention of a ceremony called *virāt* by which a single individual instead of a people could become a *virāt* (Mitravarunayorvai vairājyamanyatara aicchat svārājyamanyatarah. Taveva yajñakratu-mapasyatāṁ virāt svarājam. Tenestvā vairājyamanyatara āpnot svārājyamanyatarah).

Prof. Keith in his translation of the passage *Rg-veda Brāhmaṇas* p. 331) remarks that "the sense is clear, though the construction is careless. Haug, however, seeks to render the *janapadāḥ* as subject and as being without kings, which is wholly inconceivable". Of the two meanings of the word 'virāt' pointed out by Dr. Haug, the mere fact that the *janapadas* are mentioned requires, I think, the aid of strong evidence to justify the adoption of the first meaning, stated already, to the exclusion of the second. Mr. J. finds such corroborative evidence in the *Kauṭilya* (VIII, 2) and the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (p. 83). He says that in the former work, Kauṭilya has used the word *vairājya* as a form of government and has rejected it as a bad form, and that Kauṭilya like his contemporary Greek thinkers held democracy in contempt. These statements of Mr. J. are wide of the mark. Kauṭilya has been speaking in the passage (VIII, 2) about the *vyaśanas* of the king and the kingdom, and speaks of *Vairājya* as a *vyaśana* i. e. distress through which a kingdom may be passing at a particular time, and not a normal form of government. The interpretation put upon the passage by Dr. R. Shamasastry fits in with the context and is supported by the commentaries as found in both the Trivandrum and the Punjab editions of the *Kauṭilya*. Dr. Shamasastry takes *Vairājya* in the passage to signify rule which comes into existence by the seizure of the kingdom by an invader, the ousted king being still alive. In Dr. Shamasastry's 1st edition of the text, there are omissions which have been filled up in both the other editions and pointed out in a foot-note in Dr. Shamasastry's 2nd edition. The portion omitted after 'vinaśyati' runs thus : vairājyam tu prakṛticittagrahanāpeksi yathāsthitamanyairbhujyata ityācāryāḥ. Neti Kauṭilyaḥ. Pitāputrayorbhrātrorvād vairājyam tulya-

yogakṣemamamātyāvagraham¹ vartayetiti. Then comes "vairājyetc." up to "apagacchatiti".

According to the Ācāryas, dvairājya is ruined by the hatred, partiality, or mutual hostility of the two parties but a vairājya, in which (the invader naturally) tries to win the good will of the subjects, can be enjoyed by others (i. e. the people as opposed to the invader) as it stands (i. e. without the ruin of the state). "No", says Kautilya. "In dvairājya the evil due to dissension between father and son, or between brothers is counteracted by the ministers, the welfare of the kingdom being of equal importance to both the parties ; while vairājya, which comes into existence by the seizure of the country from its king still alive, is not regarded as 'his own' (by the invader), is ill-treated, denuded of its wealth, or treated as a commercial article ; or it is forsaken when the subjects of the state become disaffected¹".

In the passages in the *Ācūrāṅga Sūtra*, the Kevalin is advising the monks and nuns to avoid roads which pass through the countries where 'the ignorant populace might bully or beat, etc. the mendicant in the opinion that he is a thief or a spy, or that he comes from yonder (hostile village), or they might take away, cut off, steal or rob his robe, almsbowl, mantle, or broom'. It appears therefore that the reason was not *one* as stated by Mr. J. viz., that the 'states are prone to suspect strange ascetics as political spies' but *several*, indicating that not only was there the danger of being arrested under suspicion as spies, but also of being beaten, robbed, etc., the consequences of anarchy or misrule. If we scrutinize the passage, we shall see that except in the case of 'gaṇarāyāṇī' under which there can be only the danger of being arrested as spies, the rest of the instances indicate want of rule, misrule due to weak government in a period of transition, or disturbances due to the internal or external troubles of the realm. The 'verajjāṇī' here cannot be a normal form of kingless government as Mr. J. thinks. The *Kautilya* furnishes the clue to its meaning. The word signifies the

I The Trivandrum edition has 'amātyāvagraham' while the Punjab edition and Dr. R. Shama Sastry's 2nd edition have 'matyāvagraham'. The old commentary 'Nayacandirkā' in the Punjab edition has 'amātyāvagraham'.

I. Or *viraktam* may be taken as an adverb meaning 'when he (the invader) ceases to have interest in it (after the wealth of the country is sucked out to his satisfaction)'.

state of the realm when it is under the domination of another king, though the king of the realm is alive. Hence the corroborative evidence that Mr. J. wants to draw from the *Kautiliya* and the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* to support Dr. Haug in his interpretation of the term 'vairājya' in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is altogether absent.

Now regarding 'dvairājya' meaning 'joint rule by two', the passage from the *Kautiliya Arthaśāstra* omitted in Dr. Shamasastry's 1st edition gives the answer. *Kautilya* says that 'dvairājya' is better than 'vairājya' because in the former the evil due to dissension between father and son, or between brothers is counteracted by the ministers, the welfare of the kingdom being of equal importance to both the parties. This 'dvairājya' is in the *Kautilya* a *vyaasana* of the state and therefore cannot be a normal form of government. This, as shown already, appears to be the meaning in which the term has been used in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*.

Three arguments are put forward by Mr. J. in support of his conclusion, viz.,

(1) The *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā P., ch. 31; Ud. P., ch. 165) refers to Vinda and Anuvinda ruling jointly in Avanti.

(2) According to the epigraphic evidence found in Nepal, there was such joint rulership in that kingdom on one or two occasions.

(3) In view of the prevalence of the joint ownership of private property by the several members of a family under the Mitāksarā law in India, the transference of the operation of the legal principle to the region of politics is not a matter for surprise.

Re. 1. The two chapters of the *Mahābhārata* mention the compound 'vindānuvindau' of Avanti. There is nothing else in the chapters to show that they were joint kings, and did not rule over separate territories within the country of Avanti.

Re. 2. As to the epigraphic evidence utilised by Mr. J., it is not at all clear that the rulers of Nepal belonging to the Licchavi and the Thākuri families ruled over the same undivided territory. On the other hand, Dr. Fleet states, "we have two separate families ruling contemporaneously mostly on equal terms, but each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own.....From the fact that each of the two families issued its charters from a palace, not a town, and the fact that all the inscriptions are either at Khāt-māndu itself, or close in the neighbourhood, the two palaces of Mānagīha and Kailāsakūtabhavana appear to have been in the immediate vicinity of each other, in different divisions of one and the same ancient capital. And, though the inscriptions give no specific informa-

tion on this point, from the fact that the order of Arṣuvardhan, recorded in inscription E., is issued to the officials of the western province, and from the way in which, in inscription K., Mānadeva is described as marching to the east and reducing to obedience the rebellious *Sāmantas* there, and then returning to the west, it seems pretty clear that the Licchavikula or Sūryavaṇsi family had the government of the territory to the east of the capital ; and the Thākuri family, of the territory to the west of it". Mr. J. says that epigraphists not knowing the *avairājya* form of government could not see its real significance and were therefore forced to suppose imaginary divided jurisdiction. The last few lines of the passage quoted above do not show that Dr. Fleet drew upon imagination in coming to the conclusion that the two ruling families held their sway upon two separate territories lying to the east and the west of the capital. On the other hand, he mentions in those lines the reasons which led him to arrive at the inference.

Re. 3. The suggestion that the 'dvairājya' constitution though considered unworkable by the scholars could be easily worked by the people of India who are habituated to the joint enjoyment of property as members of joint families requires corroborative evidence. The evidences cited by Mr. J. have been subjected to scrutiny and found wanting, and therefore the facts of the extension of the application of the principle of joint ownership to the region of politics on the strength of the present data cannot be accepted.

The evidences adduced by Mr. J. for proving that there was in ancient India the *arājaka* form of constitution in which law instead of man was taken to be the ruler are not sufficient to establish his point. *Arājaka* means anarchy even in the passages quoted by him in support of his contention. According to him, there is a distinct term for 'anarchy' viz. *Mātsyanyāya*. But one of the ślokas from the *Mahābhārata* relied on by him states : Arājakāḥ prajāḥ pūrvam̄ vinesur iti nah̄ śrutam̄, parasparyam̄ bhakṣayanto matsyā ivā jale kṛśān (See Hindu Polity, p. 98). Here *arājaka* is nothing but *mātsyanyāya*. He has misunderstood the ślokas from the *Mahābhārata* quoted by him at p. 98, pt. i of his book. These ślokas commence with a sketch of the way in which kingship came into being in the *kṛta* age. At first there was no kingdom, no dāṇḍa, no dāṇḍika. The people protected themselves mutually, actuated by their universal love of dharma. But in course of time, *moha* overtook them, making them avaricious, and *anarchy* ensued. The state of things in which the people lived peaceably by their natural love of *dharma* has not certainly been described

in the ślokas as *arājaka*. It was when *moha* and *avarice* took away their former love of *dharma* that anarchy ensued. When anarchy prevailed, the people met together to enter into the agreement that whoever would commit an offence and transgress the agreement would be forsaken by the rest. This arrangement proved a failure, which put them to the necessity of going to Pitāmaha (Brahmā) to appoint a king over them, as without a king they would all be ruined. Mr. J. has read into the passage the existence of an assembly, the framing of laws, etc. In reality it was only an attempt on the part of the people to elicit system out of the confusion by mutual agreement, but it proved futile. This state of things cannot certainly be called the *arājaka* constitution. It could not reach the stable condition of a system, as it was really a passing phase of an anarchy. It resulted in a constitution by the appointment of a king by Pitāmaha when the people approached him.

That *arājaka* means anarchy and not a form of constitution will also be apparent from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (ii, ch. 67), where it has been used in that sense in no less than 20 ślokas describing the evil consequences that come in the train of anarchy. In the very chapter of the *Mahābhārata* from which Mr. J. has quoted ślokas at p. 98 of his book, there are verses on the evil consequences of the *arājaka* condition of a state, e. g. ślks. 3, 5-16. The term has been used in the sense of anarchy in the *Kauṭilya* in the expression '*arājavyasānubūdhah*' (I, ch. 17). That the same meaning is borne by the term '*arāyāṇi*' in the passage in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* already mentioned is beyond any doubt, for there, as already pointed out, advice is given to the mendicants to avoid places where there are insecurity of life, and risk of being arrested as spies.

The interpretation put by Mr. J. upon the term '*viruddha-rājyāni*', viz. that these were states ruled by parties is extremely doubtful. In the passage in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* it may well mean states between which hostilities were going on.

It is not proper to call a *Yuvarāja*-ruled state 'a real and historical form of government'. *Yuvarāja* is a relative term implying a king over him, and a *yuvarāja* will become a king after the latter ceases to reign. The passage from the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* has very likely in contemplation a state in which the king has died and the crown prince has not yet taken up the reins of government into his own hands as king. During this period of transition, there was in ancient India every likelihood of the kingdom falling into confusion through various causes. The form of constitution that is borne by a state in which there is a *yuvarāja*

is certainly a monarchy and hence it is wrong to say that a *yuvarāja*-ruled state was a distinct form of government.

Mr. J. thinks that there is reference to three classes of rulers in the passage of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 1, 2, 2. The text runs thus :—

uggakulāṇī vā bhogakulāṇī vā rāinnakulāṇī vā khattiyakulāṇī vā Ikkhāgakulāṇī vā Harivāṁsakulāṇī esiyakulāṇī vā vesiyakulāṇī vā gamḍāgakulāṇī vā koṭṭāgakulāṇī vā gāmarakkhakulāṇī vā pokkasāliyakulāṇī vā, annataresu vā tahappagāresu kulesu aduguchiesu vā agarahiesu vā asaṇam vā phāsuyam jāva paḍigāhejjā.

Here the Kevalin is advising the monks and nuns that they in the course of their begging tours can accept food from the following families, viz. the ugga families, the bhoga families, the rāinna families, the khattiya families, the families belonging to the lines of Ikkhāga and Hari¹, cowherds' families, vaiśya families, barbers' families, carpenters' families, etc.

It is the first three families that are important for our present discussion. Mr. J. has taken 'bhoja' for bhoga and has been misled to think that as it is followed by the term 'rājanya' which according to him (part i, p. 41) may signify the 'leader of a family consecrated to rulership,' the third term occurring in association with the other two has also a constitutional significance. And as Malabar is called *Ugra*, very probably, the place had a democratic form of government called *Ugra*. The mis-reading of the text combined with the occurrence of the word 'rājanya' next to the word which he took as 'bhoja' is responsible for the surmises. According to the commentary on the passage, 'Ugra' means 'Ārakṣika', 'bhoga' means 'rājñāḥ pujas-thāniya', 'rājanya' means 'sakhisaṁsthāniya'. The use of 'ugra' 'bhoga', 'rāinna', and 'khattiya' is found in other passages of the Jaina scriptures, e. g. the *Āvaśyaka*, ch. i, gāthā 131, which gives the four terms, explaining them at the same time :

Uggā bhogā rāyanna khattiya samgaho bhave cauhā,
Ārakkhi guruvayaṁsā sesā je khattiya te u.

From this it becomes clear that in the passage in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* the Kevalin while naming the families from which food is acceptable by the monks and nuns is not referring to the families of the heads of democratic forms of government.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

¹ These families are mentioned, because one tirthankara belonged to the Harivāṁsa and the rest to the Iksvākuvāṁsa.

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H. R. DIVEKAR.—Mālā tu Pūrvavat (shows against the prevailing view that the above extract occurring in a Kārikā of Kāvyaprakāśa does not establish the identity of the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra).

C. R. DEVADHAR.—The Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa. It tries to establish that the Svapna of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is different from, and probably a version of the original work written by Bhāsa. Cites Sylvain Lévi's article in the Journal Asiatique for Oct.-Dec. 1923 in support of this view.

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PAUL DEMIEVILLE.—The Chinese Versions of the Milindapañha. The two texts of the M. occurring in the Chinese canon were held by Specht and Sylvain Lévi, their discoverer, to be different works but have since been proved by Pelliot to be two recensions of one and the same version. Between these recensions it is difficult to decide which is the more ancient and the more exact. A complete survey of catalogues shows that there existed three Chinese versions of the M. or similar work : (1) a Sūtra of comparisons of Nāgasena translated in the 3rd century at the latest, and lost in the 5th century ; (2) a Sūtra of the Bhikṣu Nāgasena or Sūtra of Nāgasena, translated under the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317-420 A. D.) ; (3) a version of No. 2 executed by Guṇabhadra, a native of Central India between 435 and 455 A. D. and lost in 664. A comparison of the Chinese and Pāli versions of the M. shows wide divergences in the preliminary part (or rather a common foundation with the addition of different elements) and almost perfect agreement in the principal part. The 57th ch. of Kṣemendra's Bodhisatvāvadānakalpalatā contains a prophecy of Buddha about king Milinda building a stupa in the Vālokṣa country. Now Vālokṣa can be shown to be situated in Gandhāra country and the above text of Kṣemendra appears to be based upon an ancient text transferring to Milinda a prediction relative to Kaniska. Several persons under the name Nāgasena are mentioned in the

Buddhist literature : (1) An arhat being one of the 16 or 18 arhats who were witnesses at the *parinirvāṇa* of Buddha, (2) a heretical sthavira mentioned by the late Tibetan authors, (3) the Mahāyānist author of the *Trikāya-śāstra* mentioned by Hiuen Tsang's disciples, (4) the ancient master mentioned by Vasubandhu in the last section of his *Abhidharmakośa*. Opinion of Rhys-Davids that the doctrine of Nāgasena swerves from the Hinayāna cannot be supported. A review of the whole work shows that the doctrine of the *Milindapañha* in so far as the first part of the controversy is concerned is remarkably similar to that of the Nikāyas. As for the second part containing the preliminary controversy with Āyupāla, one of the texts upon Buddha and the last portion of the work, we detect the influence of the Sarvāstivādin, and of the new-born belief in the efficacy of faith for salvation. French translation of the Chinese version. Appendices.

U. N. G.

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Ibid., June, 1925

ANANT SADASIV ALTEKAR.—A History of Important Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad (Supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*).

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 45, No. 1
March, 1925

E. W. HOPKINS.—Words of Defamation in Sanskrit Legal Language.
E. FRAUWALLNER.—Untersuchungen zum Mokṣadharma.

Journal and proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
N. S. Vol. XX, No. 1

- N. G. MAZUMDAR.—A List of Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions. The writer gives also the list of findspots or places of deposit and an index.
- GANAPATI SIRCAR.—An Inscription obtained from Bhubaneswar, dated the 11th year of Vira Nara-sīmha Deva of Orissa.
- BIMALA CHARAN LAW.—The Aśmakas or Assakas in Ancient India.
- Y. R. GUPTE.—Riddhapur Plates of the Vākāṭaka Queen Prabhāvati Guptā ; the 19th year.
- KUMAR GANGANANDA SINHA.—On some Maithili Dramas of the 17th and 18th centuries.
- A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR.—A Note on Ardhanārīśvara.

Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society
Vol. XI, pt. i, March, 1925

- G. RAMDAS.—Aboriginal Names in the Rāmāyaṇa. The author sees in some of the names mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa an affinity to the languages of the aboriginal tribes, and tries to identify the Śavaras, Rākṣasas, and Niṣādas of the Rāmāyaṇa with the Mūndāris.
- KALIPADA MITRA.—Impression of Five Fingers. It is shown from Pāli and Prākṛta literature that as in other countries, the custom of imprinting five fingers on the wall or door-leaf as a means of averting the evil or bringing luck was prevalent in ancient India.
- K. P. JAYASWAL.—New Light on Hindu Political Science Literature. Here it is stated that the commentary on the Jaina author Somadeva Sūri's Nītivākyāmṛta acquaints us with the names of many authors on polity whose works are now lost, and whose names are not found in any other treatise on polity.
- RAI BAHADUR RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.—Dates of Sañci Inscriptions.
- V. VENKATARAM SHARMA SHASTRI VIDYABHUSHANA.—A jāmila-mokṣaprabandha of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. The short literary work named above has been described here.
- A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR.—Cākṣuṣīyam, an Arthaśāstra. Nineteen stanzas of the Cākṣuṣīyam, a work on polity, have been quoted here from a ms. anthology called Sūktiratnāhāra.
- K. P. JAYASWAL and A. BANERJI SASTRI.—Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. Portion edited.
- DR. STEN KONOW.—Om Maṇi Padme Hūm. Dr. Konow rejects the translation commonly made of this dhāraṇī, viz., 'O, thou

jewel in the lotus" and suggests in its place, "Thou in whose padma there is a manī". He agrees with Dr. Thomas and Koeppen in holding that the *sāḍakṣara* is not an invocation of Avalokiteśvara but of his śakti Tārā the manifestation of the Prajñāpāramitā. As to the probable time of the origin of this *sāḍakṣara*, he states, "it is older than the time of the amalgamation of Buddhism with the idea of śakti, and is not from the beginning a Buddhist formula".

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

Vol. I, No. I, 1925

DR. STEN KONOW.—Name and designations of the Ruler mentioned in the Āra inscription. The writer justifies his reading of Āra Inscription II. 1 & 2 *Maharajassa rajatirajasa devaputrasa kaisarasa Vajheskaputrasa Kaniskasa*. He cites a few instances showing that the first three designations are used by the Kuśāṇa rulers. Disagreeing with Dr. Fleet, he shows that the title *Kaisar*, alone or with some addition, is used throughout Asia as also in the West. He prefers the reading *Vajheska* to Fleet's *Vajhespa* and recognizes in it the name of *Vāsiṣṭha* of the Kuśāṇa inscriptions. As regards Kaniṣka, he suggests that it was not the great Kaniṣka but Kaniṣka II, son of *Vāsiṣṭha*.

D. B. DISKALKAR.—Some unpublished Copper-plates of the Rulers of Valabhi (Watson Museum, Rajkot) :—

1. Copper-plates in the Valā museum. The plates were discovered in 1900 in the ruins of Valā, a small town which occupies the site of old Valabhi. The whole collection consists of 20 plates making 16 Valabhi grants, three of which were of Dhruvasena I, two of Dharasena II, three of Śilāditya I (alias Dharmāditya), one of Dhruvasena III, and two of Silāditya III, and the remaining cannot yet be assigned to any particular ruler. The important points in these inscriptions are four Valabhi dates, identification of Valabhi with the present Valā, and some grants to Buddhist monasteries. Tentative readings of the 16 grants are given.

2. Copper-plates in the Bhavanagar Museum. No. XVII. Goras Bālāditya copper-plates of Dhruvasena II (Gupta saṃvat 313) a grant made to two brāhmaṇas of Gorokeśa. No. XVIII. A grant of Silāditya III (Gupta-Saṃvat 356) to the Buddhist monastery built by Acārya Bhikṣu Vimala Gupta.

G. V. ACHARYA.—Notes on some unpublished Valabhi copper-plates belonging to the B. B. of the R.A.S. and lent to the Prince of

Wales Museum of W. India. No. I, Plates of Dhruvasena I (Gupta Samvat 210) a grant made to a R̄gvedin brāhmaṇa. No. II, Plates of Dharasena II (Gupta Samvat 270) who granted a village for the worship of the image of Buddha, the requisites of the bhikkhus and repairs of the monastery. No. III, Plates of Dhruvasena II (Gupta Samvat 312) who granted a field to a brāhmaṇa. No. IV, The first plate of a Valabhi grant, probably of Silāditya III. No. V, Plates of Silāditya III (Gupta Samvat 346) granting a village to a Caturvedin brāhmaṇa. No. VI, Grant of Silāditya III (Gupta Samvat 346) making a grant to three brāhmaṇas. No. VII, Plates of Silāditya IV (Gupta Samvat 381), a grant to a brāhmaṇa.

P. V. KANE.—The *Tantravārtika* and the *Dharmaśāstra* Literature. The writer cites by way of illustrations some passages from the *Tantravārtika* of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (8th century A. D.) and shows the great importance of the work for the understanding of the development and chronology of the *Dharmaśāstra* literature.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.—The Bhāsa Riddle : A proposed solution. The writer with Dr. Winternitz takes a *via media* between the two extreme views, one attributing all the dramas to Bhāsa, and the other placing them after the 7th century A. D. and taking the works to be of an insignificant play-wright or play-wrights. The view of the writer is : "Our *Svapna-vāsavadatta* is a Malayalam recension of Bhāsa's drama of that name ; the *Pratiñāyaugandharāyana* may be by the same author ; but the authorship of the rest of the dramas must be said to be still quite uncertain."

C. V. VAJDY.—The Date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Here the probable time of composition of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa has been stated to be the 10th century A. C. as against the 12th century which is generally considered to be its date ; it is also argued that the author of the Bhāgavata might have lived in the Dravidian country.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XII

JYOTISCHANDRA GHATAK.—The Dramas of Bhāsa.

P. C. CHAKRAVARTI.—Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus.

R. KIMURA.—A Historical Study of the Terms Mahāyāna and Hinayāna and the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Journal of Indian History, April, 1925

BALKRISHNA.—The Beginnings of the Silk Industry in India. The writer produces evidences from Sanskrit works showing that

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the silk industry was not introduced in India from China in the 3rd century A. C. but that it developed independently in India as far back as 1000 B. C.

H. HERAS.—The Palace of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri.

W. H. MORELAND.—A Dutch Account of Mogul Administrative Methods.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1925

- G. A. GRIERSON.—Prakritica. Philological notes on *sthā*, *Matsara*, *Macchara*, intervocalic consonants in the North-west, prākṛt *b* and *v*, *pamṣu*, *kirāta*, *cilāda*.
- J. CHARPENTIER.—Śakāra. The writer concludes that there can scarcely be any doubt that the word śakāra may be of Iranian origin and derived from śaka with the suffix āra.
- A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR.—The Authorship of the Nalodaya. *Nalodaya* is not the work of Kālidāsa but of the Keraliya poet Vāsudeva, son of Ravi, who lived in the courts of the Cera king Kulaśekhara and his successor Rāma in the first half of the 9th century A. D.

Quarterly journal of the Mythic Society, April, 1925

- H. HERAS.—The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura in the Pudumandapam.
- V. H. VADER.—Whether Sri Vyasa was Contemporary of the Persian Prophet Zoroaster?
- R. SHAMASASTRY.—The Home of the Ancient Hindus and their Policy of Racial Fusion.
- V. VENKATACHALLA AYYAR.—The Seven Dwipas of the Purana.
- A. RANGASWAMI SARASVATI.—Further Glimpses into Gupta Literary History.

Sahitya Parisat Patrika, Vol. XXXI, pt. ii

VIMANBIHARI MAZUMDAR.—Materials for the construction of the social history of Bengal in the later Vaiṣṇava literature.

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